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CONTENTS

4 EDITORIAL

6 LETTERS/PASSAGES

10 OPENING NOTES

John Buchanan says a tearful goodbye; a Saddam look-alike makes a killing; Royce Frith's act moves the chamber music set; CBS pays a neo-nazi to get a visit; Qatar becomes a promised province; Margaret Thatcher drives a point home; Montreal's Jean Godbout tries to make amends; Susan Zucanar travels the British Airways.

12 COLUMN/FRED BRUNING

14 CANADA

Nixon Schar's Progressive Conservatism—in their worst crisis in 20 years—elect a new leader and premier.

16 COVER

24 WORLD

Faced with defiance over its "unfriendly reference," Moscow schedules army maneuvers in the rebellious Baltic states.

26 SPECIAL REPORT

38 BUSINESS

Calgary-based QSound scores a hit with pop stars—but not with stock analysts in the field of musical funds, bigger is not always better.

44 BUSINESS WATCH/PETER C. NEWMAN

46 PEOPLE

48 MUSIC

After a tumultuous year, Blue Rodeo members seem destined to achieve international fame with their spirited new album.

51 FILMS

Two directors approach the terrorization of women in markedly different ways—and with sharply contrasting degrees of success.

54 BOOKS

*Emotional engagement and unexpected humor color Philip Roth's *Patience*, an appreciation of his father's courage and renitence.*

56 FOTHERINGHAM

COVER

CANADA'S CHOICE

The Quebec Liberal party's demand for a radically revised Constitution—supported by the threat of separation—presented Canadians with a stark choice: keep Quebec, but at the cost of reducing the federal government to little more than a Swiss of border guards and a central bank, or pressure Canada with its powers intact—but without Quebec. The clock is ticking. — 16



SPECIAL REPORT

COUNTDOWN TO BATTLE

Gen. Colin Powell, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Defense Secretary Richard Cheney assessed the prospects of launching a land battle in the Gulf War—against the threat that Iraqi troops may fight back with poison gas—as relentless bombing raids on Iraq drew widespread criticism. — 36



BUSINESS

BREWING A STRUGGLE

Sebelly Glass, president and chief executive officer of John Labatt Ltd., has been kept busy trying to streamline the operations of the 82-brewery conglomerate. But lately, he has been trying to distance himself and his company from the damage rumors that Labatt will soon be sold to a foreign bidder. — 38



LETTERS

THE FIRST CASUALTY

I take exception to some of Kevin Doyle's comments in "Being is not believing" (From the Editor's Desk, Feb. 15). Any commentary on a wartime is essential for several reasons, the most telling being that some journalists do not know the difference between "reporting facts" and "expressing ratings." Secondly, we all know that any war is full of anguish and suffering. I wish the media would quit being as insensitive and telling us that they know better what we should see from this war.

Jeff Bechem,
Aberford, B.C.



NATO servicemen: 'essential' censorship

President George Bush says that America will not fight this war with one arm behind its back. Who told America's arm in the Vietnam War? The media, with their pseudo-objective dissembling. This time, it is absolutely clear that the war will be prosecuted with all the vigor necessary to win a military victory. When Saddam Hussein talks of American soldiers swimming in a sea of mine over land, he is trying to take his war to the streets and campuses of America. But the fact is, Bush is controlling the media and winning the battle as handily as he is the air war. Watch and see. There will be no Jane Fonda strangely draped over a Scout snide banner this time not.

Thomas P. Miller,
West Vancouver, B.C.

CANADA ON THE MARCH

I would like to thank Peter Newman for his thoughtful glimpse of the Canadian military ("The proud force of a generous nation," Business Week, Jan. 28). Our servicemen and women are truly the underappreciated, doing the unthinkable for the ungrateful. Canadians should be made to realize that there is a price attached to peace, independent foreign policy and neutrality. If the critics of Canadian participation in the Gulf War leave the price of a foreign policy free of U.S. influence, or were freed from mandatory military service to ensure our peace and security, would they still cling to their ideals?

Andrew Robertson,
Vancouver

While Peter Newman is right to proclaim that we need one national determination to rally and "invent our institutions," then too little to do with boasting armaments. The emissaries of Canada begin decades ago, when our leaders failed to create adequate barriers against the forces of cultural, military and economic colonialism coming from the United States. In the south, this weakened, we fell easy prey to the gilt falsehoods of "free trade" that beguiled voters into accepting

WAR AND PEACE—AND NUDITY

In the middle of your Opening Night on Margot Kidder as the new successor to Jane Fonda as Hollywood peace activist ("An acting peace activist," Feb. 4), we find the following sentence: "But Kidder, who, like Fonda, has apparently made in Playboy magazine, is a misinterpretation." Does the appearance of either of these Playboy girls in some way to their views on peace and war? Because they appeared nude, should we take their views less seriously? Try as I can, it seems impossible to find any reason to exclude it other than to invalidate the two women and to insist on the story by introducing wholly gratuitous, wholly unrelated and therefore purely sexual material.

Gerald Caplan,
Toronto

Shame on Margot Kidder! What our soldiers in the Middle East need more than anything is our unswerving support. A pat on the back works a whole lot better than a kick in the face, which is exactly what Kidder is giving them.

Bob Harvey,
Monterey, N.Y.

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should specify name, address and telephone number. Mailbox addresses: Letters to the Editor, Montreal: magazines, Quebec Street Bldg., 777 Bay St., Toronto: Ont. M5W 1A7.

PASSAGES

DECEASED: One of the original stars of television, American comedian **Donny Thomas**, 58, of a heart attack, in hospital near his Beverly Hills, Calif., home, died March 10. He was the son of Lithuanian immigrants, he began his career as a comedian. From 1958 to 1964, Thomas starred in the popular TV sitcom *Mama Rans for Daddy*, which became *The Donny Thomas Show*. He also starred in movies, including *The Jazz Singer* (1952) and *Call Me Mister* (1951). But he defied studio owners who told him to have plastic surgery on his large, slightly misshapen nose. Thomas, whose first film of success *Marlowe* (1955), its full-length last *Phil Spector* (1967), went on to become a producer and playwright.



DECEASED: American actress and former politician **Nancy Kulp**, 66, of cancer, in her Palm Desert, Calif., home. Kulp is best known for her role in the play-in-the-hair bank secretary, *Mrs. Jane Hathaway*, on television's *The Beverly Hills*. In 1964, Kulp ran as a Democratic candidate for Congress in Pennsylvania. She lost after her former Beverly Hills neighbor **Buddy Ebsen** (Jeff Campbell), a Republican supporter, publicly criticized her platform.

REDUCED: **Edwina Oakes** guide **Grant Fula's** one-year ban from playing, by 80% president **John Bagley**. After having evidence on September that Fula, 28, had used cocaine, Bagley suspended the prohibition, which he has now reduced to 60 games. Fula, who was named the 1991-92 best player in 1988, is now free to play on Feb. 18.

APPOINTING: By Prime Minister **Brian Mulroney**, to the post of federal auditor general, **Derek Desautels**, 47, a Montreal chartered accountant who will take over from **Kenneth Dye** on April 1. The auditor general in post 1978, 90th year in post as the taxpayer's watchdog.

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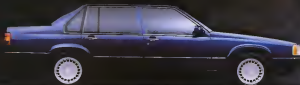
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LETTERS

REPAINTING HISTORY

Hurray for Premier Bob Rae ("The politics of art." Opening Notes, Jan. 21). It is nice to see that five has an appreciative eye and a modern sensibility for fine art. By removing the Battle of Trafalgar paintings from the council chamber at Queen's Park and replacing them with works by Norval Morrisseau and Uaghoose Goggy, he not only gets rid of the racist and tendentious, but also shows a positive sense of prudence for the Canada of tomorrow.

Douglas W. Brown,
Toronto

How disappointing to read that one of Premier Bob's first acts as premier was in order the removal of paintings of the Battle of Trafalgar from the council chamber. I found this act especially disappointing and was convinced that his years of experience as premier would prevail over his relative youth. One wonders if he will order all books on the Norman Conquest to be removed from our libraries.

Irene E. Elton,
Ottawa

TRIVIAL PURSUITS

Please tell Allen Pothorngham to get with it ("Book-learn, but extremely grateful," Column, Jan. 14). All of us are filled with concerns over war and peace, and over environmental destruction, and Pothorngham serves us up a glossy account of people like Winston Wingo. The back page of Canada's weekly newsmagazine certainly deserves something better.

J. S. Gana,
Richmond, B.C.

THE JUDGE AND THE TIE

The dismissal of Robert McCleane over the potent criticism of the election of Jewish lawyer Ronald Pask seems to be the height of indecisiveness ("A sudden dismissal," Opening Notes, Jan. 14). Is Canada becoming a country where one dare not speak for fear of being misconstrued? A sense of humor can get one through many tribulations—without it, we are lost.

Berry Mals,
Leithbridge, Alta.

A gold star to Nova Scotia's minister of labor for dismissing judge Robert McCleane because of his tactless remarks about lawyer Ronald Pask's tie. It is obvious that McCleane is unsuitable for the position of judge or as a figurehead in labor activities.

Margaret J. Nicholson,
Seymourton, Ont.

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OPENING NOTES

John Buchanan takes a bow, Russ Germain has the last word on Qatar, and Moses Znaimer eyes new airspace

THIS IS HOW A CAREER ENDS

"Honest" John Buchanan, in his friends' callings, former premier of Nova Scotia, said goodbye to his constituents last week at a party that provincial Tories gave in his home. But the end-of-the-line, gleeful-looking 58-year-old politician, who resigned last year amid allegations of perjury to accept a Senate seat, did not go out in a blaze of glory. It was more like a spattering before. Brian Mulroney said his regrets. A spokesman for the Prime Minister's Office said, "He is not going for the usual reasons. He has a busy schedule." Indeed, only two representatives of the federal government came up to send



Buchanan: no blaze of glory

off the men who led the province's Tories to victory four times. Many members of the crowd of 1,200 who did attend the party at the Halifax Metro Centre were there anyway as delegates to last weekend's leadership convention. Buchanan's fall from grace began in June 1990, when a senior civil servant notified before a legislative committee that the premier had been awarding government contracts to legal firms. As the accusations piled up, the normally outgoing premier appeared increasingly listless and remote. And last Thursday, he was often tearful during the festivities, which included a melodramatic video. As he was leaving, a guest asked Buchanan, "Do you like it up in Ottawa?" "I was waiting up in the former premier's eyes, and his replied: "No, I don't. Not really." But at least the heart is off.

A comic spitting image

Tony Lussan of Bingham, England, bears an uncanny resemblance to Iraq Premier Saddam Hussein. And now the 25-year-old former children's magazine has parlayed the genetic resemblance into a highly profitable act—as a Hussein impersonator. Lussan hosts pay Lussan simply to dress up as the Iraqi leader and go to their family parties. The look-alike says that he earns more than \$100 an appearance. Lussan said that he made the decision to impersonate Hussein after his ten-year-old daughter, Carmie Ann, saw the Iraqi strongman on television and exclaimed "Daddy!" But there are darker sides to his good fortune. Lussan said that people sometimes said: "You are the street and that he has been banned from some public bill. He has actively encouraged his wartime activities. Lussan recently dressed up in an old army uniform and stood



Lussan: making a killing off Hussein

outside Buckingham Palace. To the amazement of the tourists and passers-by he greeted towards the palace and shouted "I had one of these, but it needs a bit of building work at the moment." It is a daring act that will certainly back.

COMMAND PERFORMANCE

Senator Royce Frith, deputy opposition leader in the Senate, is winning broad approval for more than just his performance in the 11-week GST battle. The senator was the darling of Ottawa's chamber music set last week when, dressed in tux and a powdered wig, he portrayed J. S. Bach and introduced a selection from the composer's *The Musical Offering*. Then, Frith narrated the musical version of the Chinese fable *Tale Tiiki Tawala*. Said Frith: "I thought had definitely helped my political performance and vice versa." All the world is, indeed, a stage.

CLOAK-AND-DAGGER MEETING

Daryl Levin, a Toronto-based agent who arranges speaking engagements for high-profile international visitors to Canada, says that he is still perplexed by his recent brush with government intrigue. On Feb. 7, two members of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) visited Levin at his office. The agents, Levin says, asked him about the activities of Soviet journalists with whom he has worked. And they were also curious about his relationship with Georgy Arbatov, head of the Moscow-based Institute for United States and Canadian Studies. "Just the fact that I knew him seemed to be cause for concern," said Levin, who had looked him up in 1988 for a Toronto Star public lecture. Levin says that he remains puzzled—again a little shaken—by the visit, but CSIS communications head Raymond Bennett declined to comment. He told Markovits that the line between law and espionage is a fine one. Declared Levin: "To me, secret agents are the stuff of comic books, TV and movies. It's still trying to come to terms with what it all meant." Despite the end of the Cold War, some chills still linger.

Arbatov: interest



Levin: perplexed by visit

Back in town

The city of Montreal did not exactly roll out the red carpet for one of its native sons recently. On a postcard: visit to the neighbourhood where he grew up, Seattle Seahawks football player Tommy Kane was stopped and detained by the police for 60 minutes. Kane had just finished an autograph session in northwest Montreal. Robert White, Kane's marketing manager, claims that the incident was recently minimized. He stated that Kane was the darling of Seattle's sports fan base. Kane, a team-leading wide receiver, last season caught 50 passes for 778 yards. When reports of the incident reached Montreal Mayor Jean Doré, he quickly moved to smooth ruffled feathers and asked Kane to visit city hall. At first, Kane accepted the mayor's invitation, but he declined. Said White, a former Montreal restaurant and bar owner: "I told Tommy he should get an apology from the police, not a handshake from the mayor. He agreed." But before White said, the police have not offered one. Meanwhile, Kane left to visit friends in Toronto and has declined to comment. Montreal police also declined to elaborate. For its part, Doré's office tried to distance itself from the incident. Said Doré: "Police, a political issue to the mayor." "The police are not our direct responsibility."

Welcome home, Tommy

IN PRAISE OF NEWER CARS

Margaret Thatcher—whose better-late-than-never conversion to the cause of the environment provoked considerable skepticism while she served as Britain's prime minister—has found even more reason to champion green practices. On a recent visit to California, to attend Ronald Reagan's 80th birthday party, she and her husband, Denis, took a guided tour of Atlantic Richfield Co.'s extraordinary new Los Angeles. After listening to a presentation outlining the environmental benefits of driving newer model cars, Denis chimed in. He said: "Mr. Denis told me he has an older car." Added Margaret Thatcher: "We have learned from this that we've got to buy a new car." Even green clouds have chosen hangers.

DOWNTOWN TELEVISION

Moses Znaimer, the multi-city TV and the national MultiMedia/Manager Plus channels, plans to take his show on the road. The daily Queen City network show premieres "News, Movies, Music" in a program a bid for a fifth network that could join Britain's starting line in 1993. And if it wins, Znaimer



Znaimer: a new Q.C. channel

himself may never be the same. Znaimer, who admits that Michaelson is his favorite photographer and who once played the role of a gangster in the 1981 movie *Atlantic City* is meeting his British proposal as CITY's show-off format. Britain's Independent Television Commission has already named CITY as an example of the "Q.C." format for the channel. And although Znaimer does all European and American interviews, he has always retained a scrappy little Queen Street radio station.

Welcome back, Qatar

What is the recent pronunciation of Qatar, the Arab emirate where the Canadian Forces are based? According to Russ Germain, one of CBC Radio's three language advisers, "The correct pronunciation is KAH-ten." However, American TV news reporters favor "Ka-Zar"—which has led some radio listeners to question which is proper. Three dictionaries, including Webster's New Geographical, support Germain. He also begs to differ on Khalif, the Saudi Arabian crown awarded by Iraq: "It's more like Hat-Ji, not KAF-Ji." The second casualty of war, pronunciation.

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AN AMERICAN VIEW



The Vietnam lessons George Bush forgot

BY FRED DOWNING

All right, let's try it again. What were the lessons of Vietnam?

1. Air power alone can't do the trick.
2. Technology is no match for ideology.
3. Take a moment to know your enemy.
4. Supporting the troops is not the same as supporting the idea.
5. You can't fool all of the people all of the time.

The war against Iraq seems months old already. At first we thought it was going to be over quickly, maybe in a single night of ultimatum. Officials were pleased and so, too, the people. Then our leaders warned against "no plans" as though we were counting sold-upon lives in five-dollar bags. Patience and forbearance should be rewarded. In that promise, we repeated.

But for all these yellow ribbons around the oak oak trees, for all the pro-war public opinion polls, for all the G-d-forgotten-and-forgets-the-dead "These soldiers died for us," for all the solemn orations about freedom and democracy, for all the remarkable videos showing our direct loss, for all the "No Iraq" societies, for all the Pentagon assurances that the fighting goes well, we are a people on the edge of outrage.

We are screaming at each other again, proclaiming that any American who envisions his democratic franchise must not be much of an American at all. We are divided into those who say "go" and those who say "wait," as if none of this had happened before. We are drunk on the deceptive beauty of war—the Fourth of July sense of it all, the spectacle of flame and fury—and refuse to go beyond "We mean blood and displacement," as a preacher in Atlanta dared tell the faithful "It means blood and death. It means death 'till 'till your mouth, or, please, please, break your mouth."

We'd never know it, but for the last 16 years Americans postured Vietnam and

Hoping to discredit a dangerous regime, are we inspiring a legend? Striving to save life, are we wasting it?

seemed to arrive at some unspoken agreement. Never would we ask our young to sacrifice themselves for unclear objectives. Never would we envision the role of military might. Never would we ignore the complexities of culture and history. Never would we succumb to a vision in an effort to expedite it.

There was something contrary at work here—an idea that took root with all those others and encouraged a paradox. While granting Vietnam was a failure of vision and intent, we simultaneously bewailed that things might have gone differently at our far political neighbors and domestic opposition—i.e., as President George Bush says, our friends had not fought with "one hand and behind their back." To complicate matters, we left a terrible gulf about the veto—no victory meant no victory parades—and resolved to make amends.

Each provided the opportunity. In remarkable fashion, he attempted Vietnam less as a necessary tale than as a call to arms. Hence, we are encouraged to believe, the folly of Southeast Asia will yield to splendor as the Persian Gulf. The commander-in-chief pledges victory abroad and unity at home. He says that our goals are lofty, our dollars well invested, our sacrifices worthwhile. "This," he man-

ters, "will not be another Vietnam."

If the President cannot assure that we will win, he is entirely correct. Isolated and with only 17 million people, Iraq is not going to overcome the combined chest of the United States and its partners. Saddam Hussein is a man with one last bullet. When the last shell is fired, the Iraq leader will be kept—not kept on the battlefield. We will declare Operation Desert Storm a success and send despondent regrets for civilian casualties. In victory, we will be able. We will close up the books and have our parades.

Military outcome isn't everything, however. One must consider the "collateral" effects, to use a Pentagon term. In search of a new world order, are we reinforcing the old? Hoping to discredit a dangerous regime, are we inspiring a legend? Seeking to appease the Arab world with our sense of civilization, are we nodding the region toward chaos? Determined to ensure Saddam Hussein, are we igniting his most combustible outrage? Striving to save life, are we wasting it?

Already we have shown a southern resistance to the Lessons of Vietnam, U.S. Air War is overrunning but utterly ineffective. (I) and (II) and (III) for particular hard feelings among troops who have been carpet bombed but happen to survive. In Vietnam, B-52s mangled our adventures again and again. Still, the enemy kept coming.

The wicked gadgetry of modern warfare (I) directs attention from the trenches, ungodly casualties standing conflict in an unfamiliar land. When Saddam himself invokes the colors of jihad, as holy war, he ignites a passion in his people not likely to be placated by "smart bombs" alone. Hussein may be a secularist (I) who endures the prayer that only Islam is a path to glory in battle, but, in dealing with his ardent Muslim constituency, the man knows how to work the crowd.

While Hussein invokes images of Armageddon, our references are more consistent with the National League's present race. Americans are not supporting the troops (I) without coming to grips with the troops. Apparently, "support" does not mean simply wishing the GIs well and praying for their survival. Rank and file, everyone wants them home safe and sound. No backing the soldiers now carries an unspoken—a special—responsibility to both get back to one's post and sweep the streets. "Operation Desert Storm," managers see T-shirt. "We came, we saw, we kicked ass."

And yet, it is possible to report from the home front that optimism is scarce. Anticipate activists (I) are a slim constituency among the meandering multitudes but a couple of Saturdays ago thousands of protesters were in Washington following anti-administration policy. Author and radio personality Garrison Keillor said that he is cheered by the sight of obnoxious Americans leaving the streets to avoid the obvious warzone and revealed his intention that "war is hell on democracy." Quite so, but George Bush would be foolishly to ignore the most abiding Vietnam lesson of all: after a while, democracy is hell on war.

Fred Downing is a writer with Newsday in New York.



The Prime Minister, consultants are studying which powers Ottawa needs

MULRONEY'S COUNTERATTACK

OTTAWA PREPARES FOR A NEW ROUND

Most Canadians may have missed the first salvo of the new Tory counteroffensive on the Constitution. Alberta went all across the country late last month when it convinced the Quebec Liberal party, led by Jacques Parizeau, to demand a new transfer of power from Ottawa to that province. But by then, the federal government's strategy was already under way. On October 1, Deputy Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, a demanding transfer of power from Ottawa to that province. But by then, the federal government's strategy was already under way. On October 1, Deputy Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, a demanding transfer of power from Ottawa to that province. But by then, the federal government's strategy was already under way.

and could even lose its seat on the G7—the forum at which the seven largest free economies of the world meet. Mulroney's strategy was to achieve together what we might lose should our nation fragment."

Still, Mulroney's low-profile address marked the beginning of an aggressive new Conservative strategy to assert Ottawa's control over the country's constitutional course. The attack will gather strength this week. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney will speak in Toronto and Quebec City, and his senior advisers say that he plans to concentrate on the dangers that Canadians both inside and outside Quebec face if that province secedes. But according to aides, Mulroney plans to be prepared to transfer to the provinces—and which he feels are so essential to the federal

government's functions that he would refuse to send them over. By drawing his line early around certain powers, Mulroney will be setting the stage for a Conservative strategy that will culminate later this year, Mulroney's has learned, in what one senior adviser described as a "complete and precise" constitutional proposal to the provinces.

Rights. The government's new approach has been in motion since at least September. It has involved some confidential task forces directed by federal deputy ministers, who have been studying Ottawa's powers to determine which of these might be transferred to the provinces. Among the rights that Mulroney may be prepared to give up, or whittle in part, control over international trade, Aboriginal rights, health, education and some areas of justice. At the same time, his advisers say that they have learned from the failure of the Meech Lake constitutional accord to place a much greater emphasis on communicating the goals of their constitutional policies to the public. In particular, acknowledged one senior adviser to the Prime Minister, the party's latest constitutional strategy will be designed to ensure that "Ottawa—rather than Quebec—is setting the constitutional agenda for the country."

Setting the initiative back from the provinces—and especially from Quebec—will be difficult. But Mulroney clearly considers it essential to any successful constitutional settlement. His aides note that while most constitutional experts considered the Meech Lake negotiations to be a "Quebec road" of bargaining, designed to secure that province's agreement to a Constitution that had been developed without its consent in 1982, much of the public had a different view. Outside Quebec, many Canadians came to believe that the Meech Lake proposal had been designed to give Quebec special privileges. Now, even senior figures in the Quebec government acknowledge that any new constitutional package must be seen initially as addressing the wishes of all Canadians, not just those in Quebec. Premier Robert Bourassa: "It's not just the Quebec road, it's the Canada road." Any new proposals added a senior adviser to Mulroney, must now "win the West, satisfy Quebec—and get the rest to agree."

To that end, the Conservatives have set up an ad hoc committee, chaired by Mulroney's son-in-law, the Prime Minister's son, to study the Prime Minister's speeches this week in Ontario and Quebec. Mulroney and other senior ministers will make appearances across the country to drive home several connected themes. For his part, the Prime Minister will not only play to rally directly to the demands contained in the Meech Accord. But he did plan to address the sentiments in favor of independence that are widespread in Quebec—and to explain to the Liberal-dominated Mulroney, and his aides, would make it clear that all Canadians stand to lose much more severely than the separatists if Quebec chooses to leave Confederation. And one senior adviser: "We must slow the momentum to ensure that independence would be painful for either side."

In their speeches over the coming months, the Tory spokesmen will argue forcefully that Canada, with its huge debts and unemployment, would lose approximately one-quarter of its people and its economy. Echoing Mulroney's arguments, they will contend that Canada's position as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the United Nations, the World Bank, the World Trade Organization and the Commonwealth would be badly eroded if Quebec left the federation.

At the same time, Mulroney and his government plan to challenge other Canadians to play a constructive role in resolving a new constitutional compromise. For his part, Mulroney told a meeting of Alberta Conservatives this month that westerners will have to give up their just claims to Quebec's demands—or whatever new deal Ottawa offers instead, he said. Albertans should present their own suggestions for saving Canada. Declared Mulroney: "It is incumbent upon you and us to contribute vigorously to the process and to define that new Canada."

Stage: The Tory strategy will move into a second stage early in the summer. By the end of June, the federal Cabinet Forum on Canada's Future—headed by former justice minister Keith Spicer—was scheduled to complete its task of surveying the mood of ordinary Canadians. At about the same time, a second federal committee of parliamentarians is to propose new procedures for constitutional change that would make the process easier and less divisive. By then, newspapers and task forces in several provinces will have completed their own studies, leading to the constitutional meeting in St. John's.

Mulroney and his Conservative advisers clearly hope to draw on ideas from all of the studies as they complete their own constitutional proposals during the summer. Still, one aide warned bluntly that they expect virtually all of the provincial groups to take a hard line. "We did come with the demands of specific provinces, but with concerns common to all Canadians. Declared the adviser: "There are not a lot of pressures out there right now who look beyond their own borders."

The Tories' initial strategy is likely to be in the summer—a year before Quebec's new referendum deadline. That is when Mulroney's strategists say that they expect the

Prime Minister to unveil his proposals for bridging the gap between Quebec's demands and those of the rest of the provinces. That would leave the Prime Minister a full year in which to reach a new constitutional accord before the Quebec deadline expires. In the autumn of 1982, according to Bourassa—as proposed by the Alliance support—the Quebec government would use the province's voters in a referendum to settle any new constitutional deal. If there was no agreement, they would be asked to vote on or independence. How the rest of the country would express its

views with all the provinces. Instead, Mulroney's strategists say that he is planning to conduct what amounts to a "showdown" by meeting personally with premiers.

The Conservatives are clearly aware of the risk that Mulroney's support strategy entails. Quebec may make these efforts more difficult. Said Quebec MP Robert Lacombe, the Conservative caucus chairman: "The Prime Minister and [Liberal Leader] Jean Charest and others are compromised either because they are political animals or because they are so closely identified with Meech Lake and its failure."



Mulroney: trying to seize control of the constitutional agenda

judgment on any proposed new constitutional arrangement remains undecided, although Mulroney has suggested that he might consider a national referendum on the subject. Another possibility: a general election in which Mulroney's Tories would campaign on the proposed constitutional pact.

But there is to be no repetition of last June's pro-secession week of day-long, face-to-face meetings in Ottawa between Mulroney and all 10 provincial at once. Bourassa declared after the Meech Lake accord failed that Quebec would insist on the future on discussing the Constitution only with the federal government and would no longer take part in any negotia-

tion with all the provinces. During a visit last December to Buckingham, Que., he discussed his mood of a much more decentralized Canada. Said Mulroney: "We must recognize that there is a vast, diverse country and we do not want something run from Ottawa." But while the Prime Minister may be ready to give the provinces greater powers in many areas, control over the constitutional agenda is one that he clearly does not wish to let slip from Ottawa's grasp.

NANCY WOOD and
ANTHONY WILSON-SMITH in Ottawa

SHARING POWERS

OTTAWA LETS QUEBEC CONTROL IMMIGRATION

The ritual exchange of gold buttons seen and a smiling embrace between the signatories—federal immigration Minister Barbara McDougall and her Quebec counterpart, Monique Gagnon-Tremblay—sealed the pact. It took place at a ceremony in Montreal last week at the federal government and Quebec signed a new immigration accord. For McDougall, the event represented the culmination of four years of intense negotiations designed to allow Quebec new powers in the selection and integration of immigrants. But, for Gagnon-Tremblay, it was far more significant: a model upon which to build a new vision of Canadian federalism. Seal the Quebec minister: "It is an important step along that road." And her cabinet colleague, intergovernmental affairs Minister Gil Meuland, echoed that view, although with a tongue-in-cheek remark: during the ceremony, Meuland hailed the two immigration ministers as the new "mothers of Confederation."

In the context of the great debate over Canada's future, where sparks have been lit, as expected, in substance. Meuland's remark was understandable. But even though he delivered it in jest, it did reflect an underlying reality: The agreement on immigration is, in fact, an example of the kind of incremental restructuring of the Canadian nation that Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa's government envisions. In line with proposals by his Liberal party's intergovernmental committee, chaired by Montreal lawyer Jean Allaire, the new immigration accord allows Quebec to send Quebec a fraction of the new immigrants over a long-term of federal jurisdiction. The pact enhances Quebec's control over immigration policies that directly affect the province, while at the same time ensuring the power and influence of the federal government in that field. "The immigration agreement is a very good example of the new type of arrangements we would like to see," Allaire told Meuland's. "If the same logic were applied to other



McDougall (left), Gagnon-Tremblay: 'an important step' towards a new vision of Canada

jurisdictions, we might be well on the way to resolving a lot of the problems we have with the existing system."

Quebec's immigration problems are rooted in demographics. For years, the province has been hampered by one of the lowest birthrates in North America. Quebec's fertility rate stands at 1.5 children for each woman—well below the figure of 2.1 required to maintain the current population level. Immigration has not filled the gap either, because, in the view of Quebec authorities, federal government policies in the field are not geared to Quebec's particular needs. In the first nine months of last year, for example, Quebec, with roughly 25 per cent of the country's population, attracted just 15.7 per cent of new immigrants to Canada. Ontario, by comparison, received 53.3 per cent in the same period.

The new federal-provincial agreement is designed to help Quebec to achieve its goal of increasing one-quarter of all immigrants to Canada. Scheduled to take effect on April 1, it obliges Ottawa to consult Quebec before setting annual immigration targets and allows the province to increase up to 30 per cent of immigrants coming to Canada. Quebec also won the right to exercise exclusive responsibility in the selection of independent immigrants—those who are neither refugees nor joining close family members already in Canada. To compensate the province for the cost of taking over that responsibility, Ottawa will give it \$332 million over the next four years. In addition, the agreement permits Quebec to provide its own reception centres for immigrants to the province and citizens of Ottawa to provide space and support services for provincial immigration officers at some Canadian embassies abroad. Six other provinces have also signed immigration agreements with the federal government over the years, but none is as far-reaching as last week's Quebec-Ottawa accord.

Meanwhile, the federal government is set to encourage the province's demands in other jurisdictions. Only last month, McDougall, who

Allaire: 'economic sense'



Carve away the excess



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is also responsible for employment matters, categorically refused Quebec's request for full control over manpower and job training—another key demand of the Allaire report. She said that such an agreement would have to be part of its overall constitutional deal. And she reiterated that view last week when Gregoire Tuesday referred to the agreement accorded as a "slip." Declared McDougall: "We are not going to trade in every Monday morning and sign a new agreement in some one area until

we have some sense of what Canada will look like with this new arrangement." And analysts here also raised doubts about the practical aspects of some of the more radical proposals for transfer Quebec powers contained in the Allaire report. Quebec, for example, would like to see the Bank of Canada restructured to provide more regional influence on the country's monetary policy. While the Allaire recommendations do not detail how this might be achieved, Quebec officials have

boxed the idea of establishing a governing executive committee composed of members from Canada's various regions.

But some experts say that Quebec could end up with little influence and little of shared arrangement. In a recent paper prepared for the Business Council on National Issues, Queen's University law professor Daniel Slobertan wrote: "There are two 200-year examples of monetary union between two parties: those of Ireland and Britain, and of Belgium and Luxembourg. In both cases, the monetary union was many times larger than the other and made its own decision about monetary issues much as did an imperial power for its colonies."

Central: Still, provincial authorities are not likely to stop insisting upon additional power in most areas of government activity. The province wants complete control of all dimensions of human resource management—from basic public education to adult job training, unemployment insurance and welfare programs. Quebec officials claim that they need absolute authority in order to establish integrated economic strategies and eliminate wasteful duplication of federal and provincial bureaucracies. Said Allaire: "It is not only logical but, at these lean times, it also makes good economic sense. Don't forget, we are talking about programs currently representing around \$300 million annually."

Money is a major factor in health care as well, another jurisdiction over which Quebec is seeking exclusive control. The provincial government is currently attempting a comprehensive reform of Quebec's medicine program in an effort to control rising costs and a declining level of service. But the proposals have run into federal resistance over a plan to disengage patients from using overburdened hospital emergency rooms by instituting user fees for non-emergency visits. Ottawa has opposed the plan because it violates the national principle of universal access to medical care. "We're stuck between the rock and the hard place," said Perry Anet, director general of the Quebec Liberal party and a key member of the Allaire commission. "The federal contribution to Quebec's health budget amounts to approximately 37 per cent of the total. If we go along with the reforms, we lose the federal contribution. But if we don't, the health system will crumble under the weight of budgetary restraint."

In fact, Quebec's current proposals to cede the Canadian nation reflect a preoccupation more with dollars and cents than with cultural matters. Said Allaire: "We cannot maintain a strong culture without a strong economy to support it. And this is so true for the rest of Canada as it is for Quebec." But even among Canadians elsewhere who are concerned about the country's current economic weakness, there is no conviction that Quebec's proposed reorganization of the federal government represents a solution. For now, at least, the new arrangements covering immigration provide one model for the future—but not the only one.

BARRY CAHILL in Montreal

REDEFINING NATIONHOOD

How the Allaire proposals would shift power to Quebec

CURRENT POWERS:

QUEBEC ALONE:

Social affairs
Municipal affairs
Culture
Education
Housing
Recreation and sports
Family policy
Natural resources
Tourism

SHARED:

Manpower
Health
Agriculture
Communications
Regional development
Energy
Environment
Industry and commerce
Language
Research and development
Public security
Income security
Taxation and revenue
Immigration
Financial institutions
Justice
Transport

OTTAWA ALONE:

Defence, territorial security
Customs and tariffs
Currency and common debt
Equalization
Unemployment insurance
Native affairs
Fisheries
Foreign policy
Postal office, telecommunications

ALLAIRE PROPOSAL:

QUEBEC ALONE:

Social affairs
Municipal affairs
Culture
Education
Housing
Recreation and sports
Family policy
Manpower
Natural resources
Health
Tourism
Agriculture
Unemployment insurance
Communications
Regional development
Energy
Environment
Industry and commerce
Language
Research and development
Public security
Income security

SHARED:

Native affairs
Taxation and revenue
Immigration
Financial institutions
Justice
Fisheries
Foreign policy
Postal office, telecommunications

OTTAWA ALONE:

Defence, territorial security
Customs and tariffs
Currency and common debt
Equalization

ONE NATION?

THE DEBATE HEATS UP ACROSS CANADA

the prospect of ending the historical dominance of gold, they focused on access to the nation's harnessed land. To avert the national seal, Manitoba's task force, launched on Jan. 31, spent the early part of the week in the province's north and moved later in Winnipeg. The Committee on Ontario's Role in Confederation met in the province's capital, collecting views from the public and the Ontario Canadian Council. And the leaders of the 100th Anniversary of the Confederation of Ontario's Finance returned to the Quebec natural resource of the St. Lawrence region around Quebec. Alberta announced last week that public hearings on natural supply would begin there in March, as well. Other provinces, including Nova Scotia, were still considering establishing similar consultation initiatives. Two common themes, said Bert Lewis, a Miramichi, N.B., resident, were the need to speed the government's completion task force on the subject. "It's a long, Canada work."

That quest has taken on added urgency following the Jan. 29 release of the Quebec Liberal party's own constitutional blueprint. The document, produced by a committee of Liberals led by lawyer Jean Allard, proposes terms and a timetable for a wide-ranging

Hopes: Those matters will command increasing attention from the thousands of citizens

time and in locations that the commissionaries have under their plan to convene. In addition, a wide array of other groups, academics and individuals, are turning their attention to future constitutional arrangements, national leadership and new political alliances—as well as to the painful division of national assets that must take place if Quebec does leave Canada. All of these efforts, as experts, are badly needed if English Canada is to articulate its own hopes and desires in time to advance a well-considered position. According to University of Toronto political scientist John G. C. Mackenzie, the country is in a "fundamental reorganization" whether or not Quebec eventually secedes. "The political requirements are demanding the need," he will also add. "First, Canadians have to be

The Museum of Civilization in Haiti:
possibly drowning assets and debts

But testimony collected by the various commissions shows that the responses so far have been marked mainly by defiance, denial and anger—measures of the wide gulf that separates Canadians—rather than by points of unity. Said Donald Ingroux, a federal civil servant speaking in the 12-member, all-party Ontario committee in Ottawa last week as it began the first of 26 days of hearings: "Canadian civil is not negotiable." *—Carol Emmons*

Canada without Quebec." But at a Citizens Forum meeting in Chatham, she participated in old-fashioned North-South talk: "There's nothing in common with anglophones—I feel closer to *Latins Américains*," in Montreal, Richard Halberton, attending that province's task force meeting in the farming community of Dauphin, said: "The people of Quebec can start being Canadians and accept the language of Canada—English."

Meanwhile, the inquiry into the state of the ethics continues to wobble. Announcing the establishment of a special select commission on constitutional reform last week, Alberta's deputy premier James Horneau said: "We want to find out what Albertans think the future of Alberta in Canada should be." And senators within the Nova Scotia government said that Canada's most populous Atlantic province was considering a similar action. Indeed, numerous free provinces that have not yet established constitutional commissions of one sort or another, only Newfoundland has specifically ruled out such an initiative.

According to Jeremy Webber, a McGill University professor of constitutional law, English Canada is caught in a debate that "will be

complicated and not terribly systematic." But however messy the process, it is essential, says David Miles, a University of Prince Edward Island political scientist. He added: "It is time for Canadians to look seriously at this. We may be losing a country." Spence, the chairman of the most prominent of the growing number

link device, stressed last week that, however unheeded, such efforts would be worthwhile. At a meeting in Truro-Bridles, Que., Spence said that even if Quebec ultimately separates each party to the marital device should at least have a good knowledge of the other. Declared Spence: "Misunderstanding is every-one's enemy."

Not a minor sense of the priorities of Canadians outside of Quebec will not find another sensitive question. Who will negotiate for Canada after the task forces report their findings? Supporters of the Conservative government believe that the task forces will elect federal leaders of the country can negotiate the national partnership. Some analysts dispute that position. Sam Querrey, University political scientist Edwin Black, for one. "Our major problem is that we do not have a single legitimate negotiator for the negotiation process," he says. "The task forces' problems could well be solved if new leaders emerge with a new vision. See University of Montreal economist Krzysztof Wozniak, founder of the Montreal public policy think-tank Concordia Institute. "We need objectives—and on one coming up for the objectives, the task forces will be able to negotiate with the Ontario Premier, Bob Rae, as official leaders."

cin originally conditional changes with Quebec without participation from the other provinces. Said Rie in an interview: "The action that somehow is dialogic between Bourassa and Mulroney is going to produce a result that is legitimate in the rest of the country isn't going to work."

Some experts speculate that a coalition of provincial leaders may assume control of negotiations. Indeed, in our scenario, it would be made up of Ontario's Rae and two other mem-

and New Democratic leaders, British Columbia's Michael Harcourt and Saskatchewan's Roy Romanow, if they win elections in their provinces this year. But Rae himself discounts that theory. "I don't think it's a question of an alliance," he said. "It would be very simple to to look at this as a partisan issue."

ARIES In the search for new leadership however, traditional purists and power brokers may be overwhelmed by more innovative political alliances. One possibility is that several experts note is an alliance between the federalist-but strongly pro-independence-Bloc, Quebecers and the ultra-conservative Progressive Party of Canada. University of Victoria political scientist Tony Menley for instance says that alliance "wouldn't surprise me at all." Another ally, Bloc House Leader Jean Lapierre said: "I'm a party leader. I'm not a Marxist during the typing of a current affairs television show in Montreal on Feb. 3. Lapierre is a strong proponent of the free zone group, but several times he says: "Neither of us wants the status quo." Lapierre told Menley a "last-but-not-a worst case playing card" would be to "go to the states. That's our way out, to do business."

But beyond leadership and party lies the issue of what powers organizations can place on the table. McGill law professor Jeremy Webber said that Canada has to be prepared to offer "a frank recognition of a different role for Quebec." On the other hand, Webber cautioned against Ottawa according to all of the demands contained in the Allaire report. If it did, said Webber, "There wouldn't be enough of a country to have allegiance to." But he added that Quebec should be given "adequately powerful

opt out" of a variety of federal programs relating to health, welfare and urban affairs—allowing it to take effective control in those areas.

In addition to matters of jurisdiction, there will be difficult negotiations over which aspects of Quebec City or Ottawa will assume the federal government's considerable assets and liabilities in Quebec. The list includes everything from the province's responsibility for the current \$180-billion national debt to such federal institutions as Rail's new multimillion-dollar Museum of Civilization. In Montreal, Robert Lévesque, leader of Quebec's anglophone rights Equality party, says that some areas of the province, such as the far north which became part of Quebec only in 1912, may want to opt out in Canada.

Concern: But the biggest difficulty for many Canadians says University of Alberta political scientist Linda Trimble, may be coming to terms with the bleak prospect of a Canada without Quebec. Says Trimble: "The problem for many Canadians is that they can't even think of Canada

without Quebec." The University of Victoria's Mink said: "There is no entity called English Canada. There is no English-Canadian culture. There are different ones." As they vent their opinions to the commissioners running public opinion, Canadians long outside of Quebec may finally successfully conclude their long search for a common identity—or give up trying. The conditions of the search allow for neither hope

GLEN ALLEN with E. KATE FULTON
in *Otello*; PAUL KAINLA in *Troilus*
and *compendiously* exhibit



Wells, a need for change

CLYDE WELLS: IN HIS OWN WORDS

Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells emerged from the unsuccessful March 22nd negotiations last year as an opponent of special status for Quebec. Last week, in an interview with Maclean's Nathan Burrows, Chief John Dufort, Wells explained his concerns about the latest constitutional options that the Quebec Liberal party is developing. Excerpts.

Maclean's: The Alliance committee set an 18-month deadline for the rest of Canada to accept its proposals—or face an independence referendum in Quebec. Is that reasonable?

Weller: If the Allaire report does become the policy of Quebec, then it is inappropriate. Canadians outside Quebec cannot be influenced by an arbitrarily established doctrine.

Wells: "If the Alliance really is committed to increased power for Quebec, wouldn't it be better if the proposal was applied to all provinces?"

Carlin: "I've been asked to nothing more. It is extremely important issues associated for economics and defence. I don't think that is the right thing to do with the nation. That's a personal opinion. I believe that perhaps the majority of Canadians would like the same thing. It is on the other hand, the Alliance proposal isn't only to Quebec, there is creating an extremely specific vision for Quebec. That would unfortunately allow the marketing of criticism on Quebec and of the chances in the rest of the country. Based on attitudes towards the Meech Lake protocol, I have some doubts that the

majority of Canadians would accept that. Maclean's: Quebec has said that it will negotiate directly with Ottawa. Does the Mulroney government have the authority to negotiate for the rest of Canada?

Maclean's: Is there a way out of the current constitutional impasse?

Weller: There is a need for major constitutional change. The West thinks so. Quebec thinks so. Newfoundland thinks so. A constitutional convention or some other forum which allowed the provinces to participate would be the best way to achieve a compromise. You are not going to get unanimous approval for anything. But, in this way, a clear consensus of the majority of the people could be achieved.

DUELLING BALLOTS

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis agreed on one thing: it was time to vote. What they did not agree on was whether the vote should be about national unity—or republican independence. Last week, in a surprise broadcast on state television, Gorbachev urged all citizens to cast their ballots on March 13 in a Kremlin-sponsored referendum on Soviet unity. He stressed his commitment to now is the main test of his embattled region: the preservation of the union. Earlier in the week he leaked out at Lithuania, declaring that a vote on independence—the Baltic vote was held on Feb. 9 had no validity. But from his barricaded stronghold in the Lithuanian capital of Vilnius, Landsbergis openly defied Gorbachev. "Lithuania," he declared, "meets the president's desire as an inalienable political interference in the matters of the sovereign Lithuanian state."

Despite Gorbachev's desire, thousands of Lithuanians among the 3.7 million residents eligible to vote began lining up when the polls opened at 7 a.m. Saturday for Lithuania's nonbinding national vote. Well before closing time 15 hours later, the outcome appeared certain: national exit surveys indicated that the voters overwhelmingly favored independence. And early Sunday morning authorities confirmed that, with an 84 per cent turnout, preliminary results showed a 91 per cent vote in favor of independence. Still, many Lithuanians expressed fears that the Soviet army would mount further attacks before that could happen. Citizens talked wildly about army reinforcements scheduled to begin later that day.

On the night before the vote, the army-controlled television censors in Vilnius alternated two-poll messages with rock videos from the U.S.-based MTV network. Landsbergis, calm and confident, responded with some music of his own that evening. On the steps in his legislative office, he played a segment of Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis* to an audience of foreign correspondents. "We do not have tanks," said Landsbergis, "but we do have votes."

In fact, even in districts heavily populated by Poles and Russian-speaking minorities, most of the voters questioned said that they had chosen independence. In New Vilnius, an as-

THE KREMLIN ORDERS A POLL ON SOVIET UNITY AS LITHUANIANS VOTE FOR THEIR INDEPENDENCE

satellite town 15 km northeast of the capital, one Russian-speaker, 21-year-old economics student Vitaly Palevsky, declared: "I don't want to say that Lithuania is good and the Soviet Union is bad, but everyone should have the right to be independent." Said student Lena Lunina, 16, at another polling station near the local headquarters of the KGB, the state security police, in central Vilnius: "We already think we are independent. But we don't know when the Soviet Union will recognize that fact. Lithuania's plebiscite indicates the recent Soviet military crackdown that left 31 people



dead in Lithuania and Latvia. The question on the ballot: "Are you in favor of Lithuania being an independent and democratic state?" Gorbachev and Estonia are also planning to hold polls



Anti-Soviet demonstration in Vilnius; Latvian police (below) cracking down on renewed independence aspirations

on tomorrow. And Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia Georgia and Armenia all have announced that they will not participate in the Kremlin's referendum. That referendum will ask: "Do you consider it necessary to preserve the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as a renewed federation of equal, sovereign republics, in which the rights and freedoms of people of any nationality will be fully guaranteed?"

The call for unity comes at a time when the once-rebelling Gorbachev is apparently reverting to traditional measures designed to preserve central Soviet leadership—and the dominant position of a nervous Communist party. Last week, reinforcing Washington's concerns about Gorbachev's move to the right, President George Bush authorized the shipment of military supplies directly to the Baltics and Ukraine. And Secretary of State James Baker criticized the conclusion in the Baltics and the expanded influence of the army and the KGB. "Perestroika cannot succeed at gunpoint," said Baker. He also called for a delay in

ratifying an agreement that will reduce conventional forces in Europe.

Gorbachev is clearly aware of this threat; the independence aspirations of Baltic leaders, especially Lithuanians. As president of a republic with only 3.7 million inhabitants, the 58-year-old monarch has struck a note that resonates in all 15 republics. Last March, Lithuania became the first to declare its independence, and officials in Moscow and Vilnius say that Landsbergis' statements began his subsequent telephone conversations with Gorbachev by declaring Lithuania's independence. The Soviet president has not hidden his own anger. Said Lithuanian Prime Minister Edgar Savitsky: "It is shocking to think that such personal feelings play a significant role in the formation of a great state's policy, but it is true."

Gorbachev refused to accept the results of Saturday's Lithuanian vote. Soviet officials claim that the planning of the question was designed to elicit an affirmative answer. But Landsbergis pointed out that the poll was open to anyone who was residing in Lithuania last year, including members of the Polish and Russian minorities who make up 17 per cent of the republic's population.

Apart from decrees directed towards Vilnius, the flow of recent authoritarian edicts from the Kremlin has led prominent reformers to proclaim the demise of perestroika. Those measures include sweeping increases in the power of the top in some respects of Soviet and long-awaited businesses, and a controversial order to deploy army-police patrols in the streets of Soviet cities. Gorbachev's supporters, however, have rallied to his defense. Genadiy Yevseyev, the morally appointed Soviet vice-president's spokesman, declared a prediction by James Brown's minister Edward Shevchenko that the Soviet Union is returning to dictatorship. "The problem," said Yevseyev "is not that we are shifting to the right, but that we have failed to do anything to restore law and order."

At his televised address last week, Gorbachev said that the Soviet Union's economic survival depends on all 15 republics remaining within the union. He added: "Those who decide to separate themselves from this powerful coalition must also understand that their people clearly have little influence among independent state-seeking Baltic leaders. Officials in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia announced that they intend to regain the autonomy that was lost when the Red Army occupied their lands in 1940."

As Lithuania's Baltic vote sets off the Soviet supplies of energy and raw materials, the Soviet Union's dismal economic performance in 1989—the deepest decline since the Second World War—has helped to convince those that they would be better off on their own. At week's end, in the aftermath of Lithuania's plebiscite, Landsbergis and other Baltic nationalists regarded independence as a consensus belief that their votes would be the largest cast poll in Soviet history.

MALCOLM GRAY in Vilnius

World Notes

A LONDON BLAZE

Lia Phillips admitted responsibility for a house fire that killed a woman and an 10-year-old boy. The fire occurred at 10 Downing Street, the official residence of Prime Minister John Major. The incident occurred as Major and his cabinet were inside discussing the Gulf War. A police spokesman said that three men were fired from the fire, but that the prime minister's garden. Two policemen and a government clerk were slightly injured by flying glass.

BOKING IN THE PLO

Syrian supporters of Lebanese government troops moved into south Lebanon for the first time since 1975, taking up positions near Israel's self-declared security zone. The troop movement took place after Israel said that if the Lebanese government failed to remove Palestinian guerrillas from the area, it would mount military operations and ground attacks against PLO targets in Lebanon.

MAINTAINING SANCTIONS

One week after South African President F. W. de Klerk said he had permitted to travel the last remaining pillars of apartheid, Mark Jacobs of the London-based newspaper *the Independent* recommended that Western nations maintain sanctions against Pretoria. While praising de Klerk's reforms, the president of Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Mozambique said that economic pressure was needed to bring South Africa's black majority state full legal rights.

A PRIEST-TURNED-PRESIDENT

Trading the pulpit for politics, Roman Catholic priest Father Jean-Bertrand Aristide was sworn in as Haiti's new president. Aristide, 37, gained prominence in the mid-1980s with sermons denouncing dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier. Dec. 1989 he was captured and deported to Greece for his part in the capture of the pope's plane, which was taken by weathered Haitians. Aristide promised economic justice in the Western Hemisphere's poorest nation. As well, he said that he will prosecute remnants of the Duvalier dictatorship and the former Tonton Macoute militia.

ACTIVISTS ON TRIAL

China put two leading pro-democracy activists, Liu Xiaoyi and Chen Xiaoping, on trial for planning to overthrow the government. Authorities have called the two defendants "black heads" behind the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests. Chen, 40, they face a maximum of 10 years in jail or could be put to death.

COUNTDOWN TO BATTLE

BOMBERS AIMED TO SOFTEN UP THE IRAQI ARMY AS THE BRASS WORKED OUT ATTACK PLANS



Hours after Iraq, night and day, by the accounting of U.S.-led coalition forces, high-explosive destruction rained down on Iraq's army in occupied Kuwait and along its northern border. Armadas of warplanes bombed and strafed extensive military and their dug-in tanks at attack rates that averaged 25 an hour. For the first time in the Gulf War, the U.S. battleships Missouri and Wisconsin, whose big guns last belted an Iraqi off Kuwait 46 years ago, fired 2,700-16 shells at Iraqi encampments ashore. Artillery in Saudi Arabia opened up against Iraqi gun positions across the Kuwait frontier.

Last week's increasingly intense bombardment aimed to kill off men and war machinery of the occupying army in a punishing prelude to a coalition mission—or better a surrender. And the devastating daily bombing of targets inside Iraq added one structural and human casualty to the toll. At week's end, the top American strategists conferred on the questions of when, or if, a full war should be launched. But several coalition military leaders and their more soft-spoken advisers are needed. Col. Romeo Lofgren, commander of Canada's CF-18 fighters in the Gulf War, said that a ground attack should be delayed until more damage is inflicted on the enemy, adding: "If you cut off his food and water, he won't be so effective to fight in a month's time." And Lt. Gen. Sir

Peter de la Billiere, commander of British forces, said that even last week's heavy bombardment was more "coaxed to what they've got coming."

The strategic next step in the Gulf War, barring any collapse or retreat of the Iraqi army, awaited a decision by President George Bush, who, as the operational U.S. commander-in-chief, determines its overall course and objectives. Bush, stating that he would be guided by the advice of his commanders, met Defense Secretary Richard Cheney and Gen. Colin Powell, chairman of the military Joint Chiefs of Staff, to assess the situation in a weekend meeting with the U.S. commander, Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. Said Bush, referring to Iraq's president and military commander "Saddam Hussein will not act this timing over what comes next. We will do that. And I will have to make that decision if we go to ground forces."

Bush said that he was "worried" that an air war alone "will get the job done." Other analysts argued that a protracted bombardment of the Iraqi forces occupying Kuwait might cause their collapse and withdrawal—without a prolonged ground war. And a liberation of Kuwait that leaves the Iraqi army on foot in a land battle—and Hussein in power, claiming a moral triumph—would fall well short of a victory for a coalition that has focused its hostility on Hussein himself. Those questions festered at least over U.S. political mind in the war—and led some to fear that the persistent aerial assault on Iraq will amount to a deadlock.

Serious. As the coalition leaders faced the problem of forcing Iraq's army out of Kuwait, a country less than one-third the size of Nova Scotia, allied planes dropped thousands of land-level attack munitions to surrender. Coalition officers reported that hundreds of Iraqi soldiers have crossed the border to surrender, many of them adding by fatigue, hunger, body loss and fear. Baghdad radio fought back with its own war word. Late last week as Iraq demonstrated that some of its Scud missile launchers had survived their bombing raids by firing at targets in Saudi Arabia and Israel, Baghdad declared once again that "Iraq and its leader will not make peace with anyone." The radio announcer assured Iraqis that "every day, you grow more determined and braver in



maintaining your principal defense of Iraq and confronting the U.S.-led coalition." Then, it mentioned that Baghdad was looking off diplomatic relations with the United States—a step later taken formally in Washington—now with the chief coalition allies: Britain, France, Italy, Egypt and Saudi Arabia. Coalition bombing and missile raids into Iraq, a day-and-night routine since they began on Jan. 17, were even more numerous than the strikes against the Iraqi army. Military spokesmen reported as many as 600 aerial sorties a day against Iraqi ground forces but logged up to 2,000 other daily missions. Coalition air forces expanded a campaign to cut Iraq's supply routes. The bombing broke bridges along the Tigris and the Euphrates, the rivers that embrace Iraq's historic and fertile Mesopotamian plain. The raids harassed road traffic and left

USS Wisconsin's shot of the convention that an invader should outnumber the defender by 3 to 1 on the ground.

gaping craters in highways. Western journalists in Iraq said they also reported civilian casualties. Coalition spokesmen, while warning that Iraq was endangering civilians by placing anti-aircraft batteries on residential rooftops, insisted that the coalition is targeting only military, industrial, transport and communications establishments.

Still, the massive aerial assault had some foreign critics to accuse the coalition of overkill and of according its armed objective of driving Iraqi forces out of Kuwait. Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev declared that "the logic of the military operations, the character of the military actions, is creating a threat of going beyond the limits of the United Nations mandate" authorizing force to expel the Iraqi from

Kuwait. "The situation in the Gulf is becoming more alarming and dramatic," he said. "The number of victims is multiplying, and among them are members of the civilian population." Earlier, the Vatican newspaper *L'Osservatore Romano* said in an editorial that the coalition campaign "is no longer a 'surgical operation,' fast and limited, but a true 'spiral of increasing and violence.'" And Jordan's King Hussein, who has denounced Iraq's Aug. 2 assault on Kuwait but declared to join the coalition against Iraq, said that he described as "a great war" that not only aims to devastate Iraq but also is "a war on all Arabs and Muslims." In Washington, U.S. officials said that future American aid to Jordan is under review.

In the face of the accusations from Jordan and others, leaders of the coalition countries insisted that the Iraqi people are not a target. And they began presenting plans for a postwar Middle East recovery and security program that would include Iraq. U.S. Secretary of State James Baker said that a congressional committee the framework of a plan designed to set up a regional peace-and-security arrangement, impose controls on the supply of arms to the area, settle Arab-Israeli conflicts and establish an economic reconstruction program that would include efforts to reduce the gap between rich and poor countries. Said Baker: "We do not seek Iraq's destruction, nor do we seek to punish the Iraqi people for the decisions and policies of their leaders."

Two days later, Prime Minister Brian Mul-

SOME FOREIGN CRITICS ACCUSE THE COALITION OF OVERKILL FROM THE AIR



Powell (left), Cheney and Schwarzkopf in Riyadh: whether to delay a full-scale attack

erney presented a similar series of proposals in an Ottawa speech, saying that Iraq must be eligible for pariah and in the parallel plan for an unprovoked agreement. Maloney called upon the United Nations to convene "a global summit on the extermination of war and weapons of mass destruction," stating that Iraq's arsenal was largely supplied by the five permanent members of the UN Security Council—the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, France and China. "The coalition," said Maloney, "is at war with Saddam Hussein—not with the people of Iraq."

Withhold: The singing out of Saddam Hussein in the enemy raised the issue of whether Washington and its allies would be satisfied by a result that freed Kuwait from occupation but left Saddam Hussein in power. Baker, discussing a proposal to set up a Middle East bank for reconstruction and development, said that "There is no suggestion on our part that the rebuilding of Iraq could proceed, at the current leadership of Iraq, remained in power, to the same extent and degree that it could otherwise." And Bush left again what the coalition would do if the Iraqis voluntarily retreated from Kuwait. Rejecting calls for a ceasefire, Bush declared: "There will

be nothing of that nature until this war [Saddam Hussein] commences a credible, unprovoked withdrawal, and then we'll see what happens."

In the buildup for an enhanced withdrawal of Hussein's troops there were various allied



U.S. marines near Kuwaiti border: waiting for the go-ahead

estimates of the damage inflicted on them by the aerial, naval and artillery bombardments. Gen. Michel Bissiere, commander of French Forces, said that the fighting capability of Iraq's Republican Guard divisions had been reduced by about 30 per cent. British Defense Minister Thomas King estimated the reduction

of the Iraqi army's capability at between 15 and 20 per cent. The public U.S. estimate was that allied bombing wiped out one-eighth (12.5 per cent) of Iraqi tanks and artillery in the first 22 days of war. But some analysts contended that the coalition ground army, said to number about 600,000 troops, should delay a full-scale attack on Kuwait until the air bombardment has cut the fighting effectiveness of the Iraqis in half.

Superior: With an estimated 540,000 Iraqi troops in Kuwait and along the Kuwait-Iraq border at the beginning of the war, the coalition ground forces fell far short of the military expectation that says that an invading army should outnumber the defenders by a margin of 3 to 1. But the coalition air forces supporting the ground war are virtually unchallenged. And although Iraq has a numerical advantage in tanks and artillery, military analysts say that, overall, the coalition equipment—although much of it is inferior in battle—is technologically superior.

Coalition commanders say that the Iraqis have sown half a million land mines in border areas where they expect land attacks to well as amphibious and, possibly, airborne assaults. U.S. intelligence officers say that the front lines consist of 12-foot-high sand walls in front of trenches of the same depth, many of them filled with oil that may be set afire, to reserve along the Kuwait-Iraq border in the 150-600 meters (Republican Guard, which Western experts say is Hussein's most highly trained and experienced army. A prime concern of coalition leaders is whether the Iraqis will unleash poison gas and other chemical weapons against the invaders, forcing allied troops to fight in obscuring protective gear.

As desert troops prepared to fight, a Baghdad radio broadcast declared that "the battle will be decided on the ground" and "We will inflict grave human losses on the ranks of the aggressors, and they down in rivers of their own blood." And those who faced the danger of a land war counted on the advance bombardment from sea, air and land to help turn that warning into an ally threat.

CARL MOLLIN with correspondents reports

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ANGRY CAMP BAQA

PALESTINIANS DENOUNCE THE BOMBING

In the narrow, muddy alleyways of Baqa, a refugee camp 23 km east of Amman, an imprisoned Arabic voice boomed defiantly over loudspeakers from the Mosque of the Youth Camp. "The United States and the coalition must be destroyed in the Holy Land or go to the devil." From inside the simple, concrete-block mosque in the camp, Mahmud Amran, wearing a red-and-white checked kaffiyeh (headscarf) and a brown wool cloak edged with gold thread, called for destruction of Israeli tanks, cars and barracks. He directed people to hang the flag to the Iraq Embassy in Amman, from which a truck would transport it to Baghdad. As the initial blast into a dark drizzle, Hussein Abu Basma, a professor of physical education, reflected on the prevailing mood of his countrymen as the U.S.-led coalition continued its relentless bombing of Iraq. No matter who wins the Persian Gulf War, he said, Iraqi President Saddam Hussein will be "a hero in Islamic history and just for us Palestinians, but for all Muslims he has tried to give us our rights."

Pro-Iraq: Wedged between Israel and Iraq, and with a population of 52 million, there is up to 60 per cent Palestinian. Jordan had maintained an official but uneasy neutrality in the Gulf crisis. But last week, under the pressure of increasingly unrelenting pro-Israeli sentiment, Jordan's King Hussein finally broke out. In a televised speech to the nation, the long-traditionally a friend of the West, accused the alliance of unilaterally killing innocent civilians and destroying mosques and schools in a "savagely and large-scale war" aimed at establishing "Jewish hegemony" over the Middle East. U.S. officials interpreted those remarks as the politically right-wing, most unopposed pro-Israeli statement yet. "He seems to have moved over, now even, to Saddam Hussein's camp," said President George Bush. And the state department announced a review of its aid program for Jordan, which amounts to about \$54 million this year.

At the Baqa refugee camp, the pro-Israeli fervor was palpable. In a demonstration of the most direct street, a calculator on the wall showed two Palestinian state throwers flanking Jordan's sacred Dome of the Rock concept, scored off by barbed wire. Above that photo, the television shows the smiling faces of King Hussein, Palestine Liberation Organization



Anti-coalition demonstration in Amman: the end of Jordan's official neutrality

chairman Yasser Arafat and Saddam Hussein. "That sums up what people feel," said Amran, the pro-Israel leader. "Through persistence, patience and a steadfast stand against the West's aggression, we are going to regain our rights in Palestine." He added, "God willing, the herbed war will be replaced by the steadfastness of the three brotherly countries."

Ayman Shattari, a 27-year-old customs official, lives in a concrete slay of two-story, one-story concrete-block houses. The street of some means with city cooking smells from the nearby market. Shattari plays a tape of Saddam Hussein's Jan. 27 speech angling his troops to fight to the end. Set against a three-page issue that he shares with 15 siblings and their parents, Shattari expressed his anger at the continued coalition bombing of Iraq. "It is a shame," he said. "They have let the oil flow, and the Iraq economy. Their slogan is not to liberate Kuwait but to destroy Iraq power."

As a teenage law clerk there of a same glow in the camp room, Shattari's 18-year-old cousin, Sabar, stared at a black-and-white TV set. "I watch the Israeli

channel to hear when they are hit by Iraqi missiles," he said. "I like to see the Israeli attack of the Scud." Between pulls of a cigarette, the blue-eyed Sabar added, "I will never forget how the Palestinians are hit every day by the Israeli in the [occupied] [Jerusalem]. Now, I like to see the suffering of the Israeli."

War: In a concrete-and-brick shop opposite the Baqa camp office, Saddam Hussein buttons lay alongside those of Anwar, former K.O. military chief Abu Jihad and Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi. Arab leaders who have defied the West. Anwar Sabar, 16, the owner's son, said that he has done a bombing business in Hussein memorabilia since the war started. "Saddam Hussein is a strong man," Sabar said. One customer, Nader Al-Ahmad, a reservist back in a 45-hour leave from border duty, added, "Saddam is a great man. He began as the head of the Arab. Saddam is a hero." That was a sentiment that the Americans and their allies could well be fighting along after the military battle is over.



King Hussein looking out

HILARY HACKENIE at Baqa

FACING THE ENEMY

A REPORT FROM THE KUWAIT FRONT



As the product of a ground war named, Maclean's Executive Editor **Chief Andrew Philby**, who has been reporting from the Persian Gulf since early January, traveled last week through towns in northern Saudi Arabia and talked with troops of the U.S.-led coalition along the Kuwaiti border. His report:

In the distance, perhaps five kilometers away across the shimmering oil sea, the coast is sharply defined. In the observation posts along the front line near the deserted border village of Ruq, the Egyptian troops guard through powerful binoculars to Kuwait, spotting the occasional Iraqi vehicle in the distance. A line of electric power pylons barely visible four kilometers away marks the frontier, but there was almost no sign of activity. The Iraqis, the Egyptians said, move only at darkness, when they have a slightly better chance of evading U.S. air power. Even by day, the troops along the front line could hear the drone of B-52 bombers far overhead as they flew north to drop their 30-ton loads of high

at night, they gazed at their observation posts to watch the brilliant flashes lighting the sky as the air strikes guided the Iraqis. For there, it is a barren land of maintenance to an otherwise desolate environment. But, for Iraq's young, conscript soldiers, it is death from the skies.

Threats Not surprisingly, a stream of Iraqi deserters has crossed the lines, leaving safe-holds led by their own army to desert means. Egyptian officers say that soldiers from Iraq's ultra-loyal Republican Guard, as well as members of the ruling Baath party, are sprinkled among the front-line troops to prevent desertion and stifles Iraqi dissent. "They trap the people from coming over," said Mustafa,

last week that, at least in the pre-ground-war stage, the coast is sharply defined. In the observation posts along the front line near the deserted border village of Ruq, the Egyptian troops guard through powerful binoculars to Kuwait, spotting the occasional Iraqi vehicle in the distance. A line of electric power pylons barely visible four kilometers away marks the frontier, but there was almost no sign of activity. The Iraqis, the Egyptians said, move only at darkness, when they have a slightly better chance of evading U.S. air power. Even by day, the troops along the front line could hear the drone of B-52 bombers far overhead as they flew north to drop their 30-ton loads of high



U.S. soldiers in frontier town: 'Get in, clean up, get out, man—that's what it's all about'

explosions on the beleaguered Iraqi positions.

On the Saudi side of the frontier, in stark contrast, there were few signs of danger. Soldiers loathed a boat, at times paying only scant attention to their observation duties. Iraq's or have power to threat, and its army manages only to look occasional military alerts, most of which fell harmlessly in the vast desert. Egyptian soldiers happily show off their weapons to visitors and start up their tanks to break the monotony of five months in the desert. And

the Egyptian lieutenant. But almost every morning, a few Iraqis who have crossed during the night are loaded to coalition forces. One day last week, four Iraq deserters even put themselves up to three Western journalists, who turned them over to the Saudi Allied Forces have been encountering Iraq deserters through a combination of threats and incentives. Lookouts dropped by the tens of thousands over Iraq positions show photographs of B-52s unleashing their deadly cargoes of bombs, and sometimes depict Iraq prisoners of war copping

to that under the benevolent gaze of a Saudi guard.

But although the violence of war has as far largely faded the Saudi side of the border, the conflict has already had profound effects. Border towns including the village of Ruq, where the frontiers of Kuwait, Iraq and Saudi Arabia converge, are empty—made from Iraqi guards and slown to scavenging for food. Further south, larger centers have been transformed by the threat of war and the massive influx of troops into deserting through service, towns. Half of Batin, 75 km south of the border, used to be just a security service post for Bedouin desert dwellers. Many of its estimated 25,000 to 30,000 people fled when war broke out in late-January, and most stores closed. But many merchants quickly reopened to profit from the flow of thousands of troops stationed in the surrounding desert.

By my small standard, Half of Batin is nowhere that anyone would willingly visit. David Prinstein, an Englishman who is director of nursing services at the local hospital and who says that he is the town's only professional European resident, cheerfully concedes that "this is the back of beyond"—only 500 km through featureless desert from the main Saudi population centers of Riyadh and Dhahran. In these cities, oil wealth has provided skyscrapers, six-lane highways and Western-style services.

But it is a different world in Half of Batin, a tiny, sparsely populated town. Some parts of Saudi Arabia remain largely untouched by the modern age. The shops, run mostly by north Asian traders, are dilapidated and chaotic. Overflowing drains flood the narrow main street with sewage, and grating Bedouin stalls peddle the starchy bread with ancient ball-throw offers, their hockeries landing with cartridges. At the same time, the town is rumored to have a drug trade, despite the severity of the punishment that Saudi authorities mete out for such offenses. At an intersection on the main street, analysts point out the spot where they say two Iraqis were beheaded two years ago for trading in hashish.

Refugees It is a measure of the severity of conditions for Iraqis and others straggling in the desert that such a backwater town has become a magnet, pulling in a dozen nationalities each day. On one morning last week, hundreds of soldiers in the uniforms of at least 16 countries, the United States, France, Britain, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Syria, Malaysia, Sri Lanka, and even Czechoslovakia, crowded the streets, searching out the best beds in motels, cameras, sweaters and warm clothes to ward off the chafed drizzle. American militiamen crowded the food stores, using their combat berets in shopping baskets and their rifles with slings to threaten gnat-sprayers and soft drinks. "When you're away from the camp, this place is heaven," said Billie Carson, a 38-year-old ex-Marine mechanic who marries M-1 tanks for the U.S. army and who has been in the desert for the past three months. "It's the closest we've got to civilization."

Soldiers visiting the town also stop up some batteries, shortwave radios to keep in touch with war news, and electric cords and plugs to install new lights in their tents. Phones jump every few days. Troops crowd into the town's handful of restaurants, where even a plate of stringy chicken and rice provides a welcome break from the pre-packaged MRE ("meals ready to eat") that are standard field rations for U.S. troops. And the soldiers congregate around international phone booths, weapons hang over their shoulders, for a chance to call home. The coincidence of troops in Half of Batin makes it a likely target of Iraqi-organized terrorist attacks. In recent days, American military police have issued the town in their low-speed Humvee vehicles with machine-guns mounted on the roofs, warning troops not to cluster around such facilities, or even in phone booths or restaurants. "You don't want to be present in obvious target," said Roberts, the

we can figure out who the hell is to shoot," said Roberts, using Wild West terminology to describe the local inhabitants.

With their intimate links across the borders, the desert people are unusually sensitive to changes in political and military conditions. And last week, some allied soldiers said that the local Saudis seemed to sense that a ground battle was imminent. "They're clearing the women and children out of the smaller villages," said Col. Martin Grubowski, a 42-year-old recent arrival attached to 40 Corps. "Once you see that, you know something's going to come down real soon."

Desertdominate The towns already preparing for war. On the northern edge of Half of Batin, Saudi soldiers have converted a sports stadium into a camp for Iraqi POWs. Barbed wire surrounds the perimeter, heavily built wooden guard posts mark the corners, and tents made of canvas between 3,000 and



40 Corps military policeman. "One grenade, or one burst of machine-gun fire, and you could lose a lot of people."

The Americans say that their chief concern is the possibility of Iraqis slipping across the border. And that, they conclude, is almost impossible to control. The traditional territories of the three main Bedouin tribes in the area straddle the frontiers, and desert people have always moved seasonally despite political boundaries. That makes it easy for an infiltrator to cross over by posing as a Bedouin. "There are so many Indians around—I mean the people who live here—that I'm just keeping

2,000 people. Saudi authorities have had to extra stores of food, water, clothing and bedding materials for more shelters in anticipation of a flood of civilian refugees from the war. And the local 240-bed hospital has trained a team to accommodate anyone who would survive a chemical attack, so that the victims could safely treated. But, for all the preparations, most people on the sidelines in Half of Batin seemed to expect utter chaos when the hot battle broke around them. "Another week, maybe two, and it's going to get ugly around here," said Richard Boyce, a civilian American tank mechanic. "Real ugly." □



DOCTORS IN THE DESERT

CANADA'S MEDICS REPORT FOR DUTY



They have nicknamed themselves the "Beatty Beavers"—and with good reason. Across the temporary base housing a Canadian Forces medical team in eastern Saudi Arabia, the sand is a fine white powder that is whipped up by the heat, dry wind and penetrates almost everything. But the 75 medical staff and support crew, the advance party of a Canadian field hospital that will treat the wounded in the expected ground battle for Kuwait, were not complaining last week. Their base, a former camp for transient workers surrounded by a thick landscape of construction equipment, piles of sand and assorted debris, at least has hot- and cold running water and bathrooms. Soon, probably by the end of February, Operation Scalpel will move north, even closer to the front lines, and its staff will live in tents in the open desert. "That's what a war gets tough." Minister Sean-Michael McHughall, a 37-year-old medic

from Brampton, Ont., told *Maclean's*. Military officials will cut any excess when the 180-bed Canadian field hospital, which will have a staff of about 550 personnel when it is fully deployed, will move north—or where it will go. That will depend mainly on senior British officials. They have been given what Ottawa refers to as "tactical control" of the medical unit—although it will remain formally under overall Canadian command. The Canadians will work alongside two British field hospitals near the front lines in an environment that is potentially more deadly than anything they have known before. Now has experience treating battle injuries, but last week the advance team was getting down to business, attending lectures by British medical officers on how to treat victims of an Iraqi chemical attack.

Training. By last week, two 16-member surgical teams had arrived in Saudi Arabia and the Canadians had erected a complete operating theatre in a tent at the site of their camp. Two more surgical teams are scheduled to fly in this week, while X-ray and lab equipment, supplies and other gear are on their way from Canada by ship. A 130-member company from

Canadian Surgeon treating simulated wounds: no battle experience

the 1st Battalion of the Royal Canadian Regiment, equipped with 30 Goliath armored personnel carriers, will also arrive to provide security for the medical staff. The entire team, officials said last week, should be fully operational by the end of February. The delay is providing extra time for training, which some medical officers said is still needed—despite the fact that a bloody tent battle may be launched at any time. Even the unit's senior surgeon, Col. Claude Auger, a Quebec City native who celebrated his 40th birthday in Saudi Arabia last week, conceded that he had never performed an operation in a mobile operating room.

In the event of a grueling ground war, the hospital's four surgical teams will be able to perform 48 major operations every 24 hours. And, medical officers admitted last week, they will not favor wounded British, American and other allied soldiers over any injured Iraqi prisoners of war who may be brought to them for treatment. "There are only medical grounds," said Col. Ian Chatham, commanding officer of Britain's 33rd General Surgical Hospital, to which the Canadians are attached. "The POWs will go straight into our system. Once someone is wounded, he is no longer an enemy."

Worried. Many of the Canadians say that they are concerned for their own safety during the expected ground war—but that they are even more worried about how their families back home are coping. Naval Lieutenant Timothy Kinnough, a 38-year-old health care administrator from London, Ont., said that he was particularly concerned about his parents because both he and his sister Margaret are serving in the Gulf. Margaret Kinnough, 38, is a naval commander and the medical adviser to Commodore Kenneth Stommon, Canada's commanding officer in the region. "Our parents were pretty upset when I came over," she said last week. "And they were really upset when Tim left. But they have calmed down. It's our job." Although Margaret Kinnough outsmiles her younger brother, there will be no family friction because she is based in Britain while her brother will move near the front with the field hospital. "We couldn't be in the same unit," she said. "It would be impossible."

Others also had their minds on Canada. Cpl Frank Min, a 26-year-old medic from Burlington, Ont., said that he planned home as his second day in Saudi Arabia and worried not only that his wife, Sandra, had been in a minor car accident, but that she also might be well. "I was just slacking on the phone," Min said. "But she's going to be all right." Before they left Canada, Min and the other Canadians were told that their Saudi stay would last about six weeks, as Min expects to be home for the birth of his second child. But, for those living the prospect of setting up a war-torn surgical battle in decades, no months could turn out to be a long time indeed.

ANDREW PHILLIPS in eastern Saudi Arabia

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SPECIAL REPORT



Civil defence drill in Haifa: the Bonn government has been openly embarrassed

EERE ECHOES OF THE PAST

ISRAEL PROTESTS GERMANY'S ROLE

They gather every working day from noon until 5 p.m. on Tel Aviv's Beaufort Park Street. The demonstrators are Jews who assemble outside the German Embassy to ask what they are doing a powerful protest sign that their message is loud and clear. One afternoon last week, a protester held up a hand-drawn placard showing a caricature of King President Sukarno making a mistake, which was uncured. "Make a German!" Another placard read: "Agnus Germani qui es thou shalt die." Nita Ben-Zion, 43, most of whose Polish family died in Nazi concentration camps during the Second World War, declared: "I can believe that no one here in Germany believes that we are helping Iraq with poison gas." Interestingly, media have reported that Germany may have supplied Iraq with biological weapons, a key ingredient in Zyklon-B, the principal gas used at Auschwitz. Added Ben-Zion: "We second-generation Holocaust survivors lived for many years to push these rumours aside. Maybe that was our mistake—I can no longer be apathetic."

Ben-Zion and other Israelis say that they are angry over recent allegations that a large number of German firms had sold equipment enabling Iraq to make chemical and biological weapons, and that German technicians, as late as last November, may have helped to extend the range of Scud missiles that Iraq has been developing. But German firms are currently under formal investigation by Jewish therapists for role in the UN embargo against Iraq, while U.S. and British intelligence services have named as many as 100 other suspect companies. German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher alleged some Jewish resentment by flying to Israel late last month. He offered what he called "transatlantic aid" worth about \$150 million, as well as 100,000 humanitarian aid packages. Although many Israelis said they were impressed by Genscher's visit, several added that they were not satisfied that Bonn has done everything it can to tighten export restrictions on dangerous chemicals. Declared Ephraim Zuroff, a leading Nazi hunter: "I am pleased that Genscher came here to at least try to make sure that these people are heard. But if the German government needs to prove its good faith, it has to change the way it is dealing with this traffic."

goodwill visit to Jerusalem, German parliamentarian Speaker Miro Slomkowski found himself at the centre of the controversy. Slomkowski: "We have had great difficulties explaining that this is a fringe group not representative of our attitude towards Israel."

Genscher, for his part, said that no German arms had been reported legally to Iraq for 30 years. And in a clear rebuke to Western countries that supported Iraq in its eight-year war with Iran, he added: "Even in recent years, when many Western states saw in Saddam Hussein someone with whom we could fight Iraq, we did not let ourselves be seduced into supporting him by approving arms exports."

ISRAELI Although all of the Scud missiles that have hit Israel were armed with conventional warheads, the prospect of being bombed with German-made gas has deeply disturbed many Jews. In his Jerusalem apartment, Ben-Zion recalled the two years that he spent as Germany's Berlin Resident, concentrated in a camp. Said the 65-year-old housewife: "During the Second World War, the Zyklon-B gas started off as a pesticide, but they used it to kill human beings." She added: "In among Iraq half a century later, the Germans were completely unrepentant and callous to go through the same kind of thing. All these cruelties, sophisticated people were helping Saddam to build a war machine—and doing it for profit."

Later last month, German Economics Minister Jürgen Möllemann announced a stop-gap plan to impose export controls. Möllemann called for severe prison sentences for violators of the UN ban on all aid to Iraq and more power for his ministry to intervene quickly to stop suspicious exports. But the damage has been done. And with each new allegation of German involvement in the Iraqi war effort, more echoes of the past threaten the future of already strained German-Israeli relations.

ANNEKE BILKAMP with ARON SIEGAL in Jerusalem and JOHN HOLLAND in Berlin



Oland: "There is still a debate internally about how many legs it is appropriate for the company to have."

BUSINESS

BREWING STRUGGLE

S loathed as a blue leather chair in his Toronto office, Sidney Oland makes little effort to conceal his aversion. As president and chief executive officer of John Labatt Ltd., Oland has had his hands full recently trying to streamline the operations of one of Canada's most diversified consumer-products companies, a sprawling \$3-billion conglomerate best known for its interests in brewing, but with sidelong holdings in food processing, professional sports, entertainment and broadcasting. That alone is a daunting challenge, but now Oland has to deal with another problem: For months, Bay Street has been rife with speculation that Labatt will soon be sold to a foreign bidder. Although Oland dismisses the rumors as unfounded, the 50-year-old Nova Scotia native says that the talk of a takeover has damaged the company's relations with its 16,500 employees and ac-

JOHN LABATT'S TROUBLES FINDING A FOREIGN PARTNER HAVE LED TO TAKEOVER SPECULATION

pared its efforts to expand overseas. "It's a case of investment bankers trying to stir up some business for themselves," says Oland. "It's a very aggravating situation."

Despite Oland's consternations, the rumors

about an impending takeover of Labatt are almost certain to persist. The speculation is largely due to the beleaguered status of the company's major shareholders. Toronto-based Bracco Ltd., a holding company in Peter and Edward Brodeur's corporate empire, Bracco owns 41 per cent of Labatt, a stake that at current market prices is worth at least \$1.8 billion. According to many analysts, Bracco is under increasing pressure to sell its Labatt investment to raise money for use in some of the Braccos' other companies, including Ryco at Tranzco Ltd. and Nemco Inc. These firms have been hit hard by the current economic downturn and need cash infusions. Said Steven Krawatz, a financial services analyst with the Toronto-based investment firm, Michael, Walcott & Co.: "Reinventing the prospects of a Labatt sale would be very helpful to Bracco."

At the same time, some investors say that

Labatt badly needs a strong foreign partner in order to survive in the increasingly competitive global beer market. Among Canadian brewers, the company, with a 42-per-cent share of the domestic market, is second only to the Molson Co. Ltd., with 52 per cent of the market. But Canadians are drinking less beer, an average of 80 liters per person in 1980, down from 96 liters in 1961. Moreover, both Molson and Labatt are almost certain to lose market share in the future as Canadians increase their consumption of imported beers. Canada is currently negotiating with the European Community in order to allow foreign brewers greater access to the domestic market. Says Jacques Krawatz, a consumer-products analyst with the investment firm McNeil Munro Inc. in Montreal: "Without a new acquisition in foreign markets, Labatt's situation is hopeless."

Labatt tried three times last year to acquire a foreign brewer, but on each occasion it was unsuccessful. In the most recent attempt, last summer Labatt branched a takeover bid for La Cerveza Carpa, a Spanish brewer that has 22 per cent of the beer market in that country, one of the few where per capita beer consumption is increasing. La Cerveza Carpa was eventually sold to London-based Guinness PLC for \$1.15 billion, a price that Oland says was too steep for him.

Labatt's loss-bearers are also experiencing problems. For years, the company's managers tried to increase earnings by diversifying into other segments of the North American consumer-products market. The company's assets now include Seaboard and Lactanac, ice cream; Five Rivers flour and Kiewit's food products, as well as the cable television sports channel FSN and a 45-per-cent share of the Toronto Blue Jays baseball club. Labatt also owns several large U.S. breweries and food-processing companies.

At last, many analysts feel that Labatt's diversification drive was sound in concept, but, more often than not, failed to generate sufficient profits. In the most recent three-month period, which ended Oct. 31, profits were \$38 million or 10.1 per cent of \$3.4 billion. That compared with earnings of \$60 million on sales of \$1.2 billion in the same quarter a year earlier. Declared Krawatz, "Bracco has always lauded about obtaining a 15-per-cent return from its investments. Labatt has not delivered over the past five years, and the outlook for the next five years is bleak."

That pessimism is also reflected in a recent court decision in 1989 which moved from the head of Labatt's brewing division to the heads of its parent company, be announced plans to refocus the operating corporation and terminate its diversification. In a legal

successor, the new president sold Offshore Gas Sales and Offshore Inc., closed two energy leasing U.S. divisions and shifted the company's U.S. food operations from brand name products to the wholesale food supply sector. Michael Palmer, research director at Scotia-McCarthy Securities Inc. of Toronto, for one, says that Oland diversified in order to try to prove Labatt's performance. "The investment community would like to see more restructuring," Palmer adds. "But at least the company is more realistic about its assets than it was. They've awakened to reality."

For his part, Oland says that further streamlining efforts will likely be necessary. "I'm not sure that we are sufficiently single-minded and focused enough," he adds. "There is still a debate internally about how many legs it is appropriate for the company to have. It's not good to be too diffuse."

Some analysts say that is also the case with Labatt's controlling shareholder. The interests of Bracco and its affiliated companies within the Brodeur family's Edger group are concentrated in the natural resources, real estate and financial services sectors. According to some observers, it would make more sense for Labatt to be owned by a parent company that has experience in the same business area.

If Labatt is unable to buy a foreign brewer and does find itself owned by a competitor, the former now owner is Anheuser-Busch Co. Inc. of St. Louis, brewers of Budweiser beer. Labatt already has a licensing agreement with Anheuser-Busch that permits it to brew and sell Bracco's major brands in Canada. Anheuser-Busch, the Labatt, has experience in the entertainment and food-processing industries. Other possible suitors include Allied PLC of London, which brews and distributes Labatt products in the United Kingdom, Philip Morris Inc. Inc. of New York City and Seagram Ltd. of Japan.

Some analysts are questioning the wisdom of such a move. Some say that it would be an ill-timed move for the 143-year-old brewing company. "A corporation has to be a good seller as well as a good buyer," says Philip Wright, an analyst with Michael, Walcott & Co. Vancouver office. In speaking to Wright, some investors now show stocks in the Brodeur family orbit partly because they question Bracco's willingness to sell itself of assets that had to meet the group's long-term strategy. He adds: "This is Bracco's chance to show that it can actually sell a company." Oland may not take the bait of talk, but for now the speculation about Labatt's future shows no sign of letting up.

DEBORAH MCNEIL/STAFF

Business Notes

UNLEASHING THE FTA

Canada, the United States and Mexico recently announced that they will start negotiating a free trade agreement in order to bring a North American free trade zone, the largest in the world, by the end of the year. The discussions promise to be controversial, the chief U.S. trade negotiator, Carla Hills, said a congressional hearing, that the U.S. trade talks "will give us an opportunity to improve and expand the U.S.-Canada Free Trade Agreement." That may resolve the bitter debate over that two-year-old agreement. Indeed, President George Bush complained that Canada still maintains such unfair practices as agricultural import quotas and limits on foreign ownership of television station companies.

GM SHORES ITS WORKFORCE

In an effort to offset a steep decline in sales, Detroit-based General Motors Corp. announced that it would cut 15,000 workers, or 15 per cent of its worldwide white-collar workforce, by 1990. The layoffs will include 800 plant employees at GM's Canadian operations.

A BANK GOES FOR BROKE

The Bank of Montreal has asked the courts to declare Robert Campeau bankrupt for allegedly failing to make payments on \$27.9 million in personal loans and interest charges. The former real estate tycoon's business fortunes have steadily declined since January, 1989, when his U.S. department store chain, purchased with \$13 billion in borrowed funds, filed for protection from creditors under U.S. bankruptcy laws.

BILLS START TO RISE

The Toronto Stock Exchange's 300 common stock index gained 58.21 points on Feb. 6 to 3,428.03, its highest one-day gain since May 31, 1988. The TSE closed the week at 3,445.27, an increase of more than 100 points over the previous 52 weeks. Its highest level since last August. Analysts say that the rebound could equal that the recession will be shorter and shallower than originally predicted.

UNEMPLOYMENT ALARMS

The unemployment rate reached its highest level in nearly five years when it rose to 9.7 per cent in January, from 9.3 per cent the month before. Statistics Canada reported that 44,900 more people were classified as unemployed in January to bring the total to 3.3 million unemployed, or 9.7 per cent of the labour force. In January, 1986, the highest rate was 9.8 per cent.

Sour notes for QSound

Even Madonna fails to revive Archer's shares

The sales figures give Lawrence Ryckman reason for optimism. But share prices are showing signs of the glow. For five years, the level 30-year-old Calgary businessman has struggled to persuade investors and investors of the merits of QSound, an innovative recording process that is available to create the illusion of three-dimensional sound. Finally, his efforts seem to be succeeding. The first album to feature QSound, Madonna's *Immaculate Collection*, is currently number 3 on the Canadian sales charts and has already sold more than 4.6 million copies worldwide since its release in November. Last month, British pop star Sting also released an album recorded in QSound. Despite these achievements, Ryckman is clearly frustrated by a recent decline in the share price of his company, Archer Communications Inc. of Calgary. Declined Ryckman. "The company has never been stronger. We have wasted our funds on the stock price. We will wait until reality sets in."

Since reaching \$36 in January, 1990, Archer's shares have fallen sharply, closing last week on the Toronto Stock Exchange at \$12.90. Ryckman complains that the price has been driven down by "rumors set in motion by stock market manipulators" who often target new companies. Among those rumors, he says, are false allegations that Archer is short of cash, that there will be a long delay before the company collects royalties from Madonna and other artists, and that QSound will soon be challenged by competing systems. "Hollywood accepts us," Ryckman says. "But here, people are skeptical about the success of high-tech coming out of Calgary."

So-called short sellers—speculators who attempt to profit from a decline in the value of a company's shares—are causing most of Ryckman's problems. They typically sell stock borrowed from other investors, with a promise to return the same number of shares at a later date. If they can subsequently buy the shares at a lower price to return to the lending investor, they make a profit. As a result, companies frequently receive short sellers of circulating damaging information in a deliberate attempt to drive down share prices.

Patrice Priest-Raymond is a short seller who maintains that Archer's price will decline even further in the months ahead. Priest-Raymond, a director of the Toronto-based investment firm McDowell St. Lawrence Securities Ltd., says that Ryckman has been overly optimistic about the commercial viability of QSound. But one thing, Archer has yet to report any operating revenues—that company lost \$2.6 million in 1989 and \$2.6 million in the first nine months of 1990. Moreover, Priest-Raymond adds that

several companies, including Rolled Corp. of Osaka, Japan, are developing similar sound-enhancing recording systems. Says Priest-Raymond: "A lot of gullible people have bought the stock on a lot of hype and promotion." But Ryckman maintains that the royalties earned from sales of QSound recordings will result in Archer's reporting a profit of about \$1 million for the fourth quarter of 1990. He adds: "The



Ryckman: "The stock will find its footing and start to move back."

stock has gone into shock. But it will find its footing and start to move back."

The QSound technology was developed in the early 1980s by Calgary sound engineer Don Lowe and electronic technician John Lenz. In 1988, the two men formed a partnership with Ryckman, a former securities adviser and real estate developer, who doggedly promoted the system among Hollywood film and music producers, as well as to potential investors.

Last year, Ryckman's persistence resulted in Cine-Gita Ltd. in Japan, a television commercial production company, purchasing the 1990 Super Bowl game. But QSound's splashy debut ran into trouble in Canada, partly because many local television stations did not broadcast the game in stereo and because few existing televi-

sion sets are equipped to reproduce stereo signals. Still, Ryckman: "Canada was not ready for 3-D sound."

Ryckman executives and music critics give QSound mixed reviews. They say that the three-dimensional effect is difficult for listeners to detect unless they position their stereo speakers correctly. Added Gordon Doyle, a production manager at Cici Film video in Calgary: "QSound enhances the stereo, but you have to be in the sweet spot between the speakers. The average guy is not going to hear any difference driving to and from work."

Meanwhile, Ryckman is counting on new deals with major stars to improve QSound's image—and Archer's share price. In addition to Madonna and Sting, such singers as Paula Abdul, Bryan Adams and Janet Jackson have

agreed to use QSound in their upcoming albums. Declined Ryckman: "Madonna and Sting are not using QSound for their health. They think it enhances their product. They are among the biggest stars in the world. What more could we ask for?" Still, Ryckman has paid a high price to secure the co-operation of some of those artists. Marlene has learned that Madonna asked for and obtained a rebate of at least half of the co-operer cent royalty—about 16 cents on a compact disc—that Archer normally charges as the retail price of each disc, type or record. Now many investors are looking for evidence that Ryckman's company can produce something even more important than stars' profiles.

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Masse: 'I guess I'm an investment manager, not a marketer'

The hard sell and RRSPs

In mutual funds, bigger is not always better

Few members of Roy Street's closely knit community of money managers have heard of Anthony Masse. But the sublimely 55-year-old president of Signi Investment Management Ltd. in Vancouver has one of the strongest investment records of any mutual-fund manager in Canada. Like other managers, Masse selects money from small investors and places it, on their behalf, in his own portfolio in the stock market. For the decade ending in December, 1996, Signi's Cambridge Growth Fund, the company's flagship, has yielded an average annual return of 12.9 per cent, almost double the 6.9-per-cent average return for all equity mutual funds. Even in last year's declining market, Masse limited Cambridge's losses to 1.2 per cent, while all other equity-based funds lost an average of 12 per cent. Still, despite his enviable record, Masse is struggling to attract new investors. The \$66 million that Masse manages is merely a drop in the bucket compared with the \$30-billion total invested in all Canadian mutual funds. But Masse acknowledges that he is perfectly prepared for his own obscurity. He adds: "I guess I'm an investment manager, not a marketer."

Indeed, marketing skills are often the key to the success of mutual-fund dealers. They usually generate most of their new customers during February in Canadian scramble to invest in registered retirement savings plans before the end-of-the-month deadline to qualify for tax deductions from income earned in the previous year. To take advantage of the last-minute rush, Canada's largest mutual-fund dealer, including the number 1 Vancouver-based Investors Group and the number 2 Milwaukee Financial Corp. of Toronto, launch multi-million-dollar television and print advertising campaigns to persuade prospective clients to invest in their fund-based funds.

The reason for such last-of-their-kind advertising campaigns is that growth in mutual-fund company earnings depends largely on new customers, rather than on the yield of the funds. That is because revenues come from percentage-based management fees, and the more money a fund manages, the more revenue it collects, regardless of the return on investments. But many experts say that the aggressive marketing campaigns provoke fire, if any, benefits for existing fundholders. Says Patrick Webb, Toronto-based senior vice-president of 60 Fines-

cal Services Ltd.: "I fail to see how existing investors benefit in any way from the heavy advertising campaigns some funds put on."

Still, managers acknowledge that the largest, best-known funds are generally not the top performers. For one thing, they say, these funds have grown by attracting new investors through successful marketing efforts rather than through their performance. As well, the sheer size of the biggest funds makes it harder for them to achieve above-average returns, because their holdings are so large it is more difficult for them to find potential buyers should they decide to sell a poorly performing stock. Furthermore, large funds may have more money to invest than there are available attractive stocks. Declared Robert Kerveld, chairman of Toronto-based Trimark Investment Management Inc., Canada's fourth-largest mutual-fund manager: "The job of an investor is to find the best investment manager. But when they do they bury him with money until he becomes mediocre."

For his part, Robert Darling, senior vice-president for securities of the Investors Group, with \$6.6 billion in mutual-fund assets, adds: "You get so much money coming in the door that it's hard to find places to put it. When I first started the business I worked for a pension fund that had \$1 million a day coming in. It was just mind-boggling. One day, I went to my boss and suggested a stock that I thought we should sell. He said, 'For you crazy? Why on earth would you want to give yourself even more money to do something with?'" In their defense, managers of the big funds say that their funds offer a reliable return that is close to the overall average.

The amount of money invested by Canadians in mutual funds has exploded, to last year's \$33 billion from about \$4 billion 10 years earlier. And the funds that have grown the fastest have the most audacious marketers. Mackenzie, for one, has tried to boost sales by sending lavish trips overseas to stockholders who sell the fund. But the prevailing big or small fund sales Commission rule, set to start next year, "neutralizes" to persuade fund managers to limit that kind of promotion.

Smaller funds like Masse's, on the other hand, put most of their efforts into their investment decisions. Declared the unassuming marketer: "We're involved big or small. But the smaller ones are easier to follow than the large diversified ones, and there just seems to be more value in it." Clearly just being small is no guarantee of success—many of the world-performing funds are also relatively small. Ultimately, a fund's success depends on the skill of the investment manager. But the evidence suggests that bigger is rarely best.

BRUNDA DALGLISH

"We're making important breakthroughs in understanding the nature of pain. And a big factor is the funding that pharmaceutical companies provide."

Helen Bouman,
neurological researcher,
University of Calgary

Helen Bouman's field of research is nerve cells and the way they transmit messages.

"Some years ago, it was found that the body has its own naturally occurring pain killers or opiates, called endorphins. This had enormous implications for pain relief: medicine could be designed to 'imitate' particular opiates, and be targeted on them. This affects all areas of neurological research, including my own. I'm using inhibitors to turn neurons on and off, to see what they do. This work is revealing the secrets of both pain and pleasure."

What researchers in this field are embarked on is a total re-mapping of the brain—an exercise that will clearly take a great deal of time and money. Helen Bouman received a research award from the Health Research Foundation of the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association of Canada (PMAC). This award was co-funded with the Medical Research Council of Canada under the University-Industry Program.

"As a graduate student starting out, it wasn't easy getting funded. It isn't for anyone. So the kind of support we get from the pharmaceutical companies is very important. It helps keep basic research like mine alive. And that's where the search for cures has to begin—without basic details of the mechanism."

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The legendary Bay's historic betrayal

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

When Barry Agnew, the Hudson's Bay Co.'s vice-president of sales and marketing, announced last month that the chain was closing its 20 fur departments, reactions were predictable. Animal rights activists, celebrating their victory, headed out pink-zoned to buy shoppers Trappers in the Northwest. Terrorists threatened the latest threat to their already diminished standard of living, once relying upon it to obtain its only link to self-sufficiency.

My own reaction was much more muted. These are tough days in the retail trade, and it's entirely understandable that the hard-pressed Bay, which managed to lose \$72 million in the past decade, wants to use its floor space for more profitable merchandise. But this spent most of 16 years researching and writing a history of the Company that last volume in the trilogy, *Men of Fur*, will be published this fall and the decision to cut its final link to the fur trade hit me hard.

John Buchan, the Scottish writer who as Baron Tweedsmuir became governor general of Canada in 1935, summed it up best when he noted that "the Hudson's Bay is not an ordinary commercial company, but a kind of kingdom in itself." And so it was. The 16th lord great by Charles II of England to his cousin Robert (who had helped restore him to the throne) eventually ascended to nearly one-fourth of the earth's land surface. During the two centuries of its unimpeded monopoly, "the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England Trading into Hudson Bay" founded the world's largest—until 1984—commercial empire. Its outposts stretched from the Arctic across Western Canada and much of the northern United States down to San Francisco and over to Hawaii.

The rise of all the activity was an attempt to satisfy the European market's insatiable demand for beaver pelts, used to make the hats that stayed in fashion for most of 200 years. Panning aggressively from its mud-and-iron cove, the beaver led the Bay men over west-

Hunting and trapping in the North is not a blood sport nor a hobby. It's a way of life, and fur is the only cash crop.

ward. As each pond was fished out, the trade kept moving deeper into the new land. "By its dependence on, no less than by its value, the beaver was responsible for carrying the map of Canada," noted the modern Canadian explorer Eric Morris.

The Bay owned a fortune on the fur trade, often returning as much as 80 per cent to annual dividends. The profit, of course, went to the Company's proprietors, domiciled in London until 1870, when the Company moved its headquarters first to Winnipeg, and later to Toronto. But what gave the Company its significance were the tough Scotsmen with pained faces who set out their lives in the life outdoors, trading with the Indians while clearing a continent. They were castaways in a labyrinthine land, yet they achieved something truly magnificent: they endured. And out of their endurance was born the nation for modern Canada—its geography, history and character. In the 20th century, the Bay remained its counterpart of the West by establishing a fur-trade monopoly over Canada's Arctic; this time dealing with Inuit who traded for sealions.

In the context of that long history, the Bay's move out of the industry that gave it birth seems an added significance. By detaching itself from

the fur trade, the Hudson's Bay Co. has effected real harm on those who have depended on it, the people who live in that part of Canada the poet Al Purdy has called "north of nowhere."

Hunting and trapping in the North is not a blood sport nor a hobby. It's a way of life, and fur is the only cash crop. I remember Bertram Pitcock, an Inuit elder from Tuktoyaktuk, telling the 1974-1975 Berger royal commission on the proposed Maclean's Valley natural-gas pipeline: "Just like you white men work for wages and you have money in the bank, well, our bank was here, all around with the fur. The North is my bank."

About 50,000 Canadian natives still depend on the fur trade as the only alternative for supplement to welfare. Their choice is dictated not by preference or because they don't have assets, but by climate and location. "It would be a little different," the flight line John Sperry, Anglican bishop of the Arctic, has noted. "If those who work against trapping and hunting were themselves vegetarians, but they're not. So why should they pick on a comparatively small number of northern people who have lived mostly from animals because they happen to be above where crops can be grown. They're not fast trees and so what. It's a sad and unfortunate situation."

At a deeper level, to hunt—and Indians—hunting is something of a spiritual experience. They see themselves as part of an interrelated, sacred universe in which every animal is created as a relative of man. Georges Erasmus, first chief of the Assembly of First Nations, recently talked about man being part of nature. "We were not put here from another universe," he said. "It is very possible to play a reasonable, productive role—for all of human society to be part of a balanced ecosystem."

None of this sounds theoretical when you visit the small communities of the far Arctic, as I did during my Bay research. That famous photo showing Inuit in a boat pulling a white-bellied seal pup with unflinching eyes devoured not only the St. Lawrence harpooned catches, but the trapped seals inside the North. Although they don't kill baby seal and although they shoot adult animals instead of clubbing them, the Inuit because the unwilling victims of the fur predators. Inuit seal prices rose from \$12 to \$20 a pelt; the economic base of the region collapsed.

The Inuit's material culture has traditionally hinged on the seal or caribou hunt, to furnish them with food, clothing and shelter. But a central part of that life-giving equation required the sale of sealions for oils, so that, food, ammunition, traps and caribou hunters could be bought, used to sustain food and clothing. Instead of the 40,000 sealions that were exported out of the North only a decade ago, no more than 1,000 skins are now sold, and demand is still declining.

The Hudson's Bay Co. was not responsible for any of this. On the contrary, as the past decade, as more Inuit began hunting and credit long past the time the pelts had no value. But by so ostentatiously shutting down fur departments the Company betrayed its history and the fur traders who made it great.

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SEXY ADVICE ON THE HOME FRONT

Sex therapist Ruth Westheimer, better known as Dr. Ruth, has returned to Israel, where she fought for the Jewish underground in the first Arab-Israeli war in 1948. But the 63-year-old psychologist, who moved to the United States in 1956, says that currently she is just showing political support for her homeland. Still, she took the opportunity to offer some professional advice to couples confined to their homes by the threat of Iraqi missile attacks. "Be patient," told Dr. Ruth. "Maybe it will help ease the relationship and the sex life."

Fast funding

Asking to western friends last November to spread out, Tom Cochrane (left) has agreed to act as a spokesman for the Canadian Third World aid organization World Vision. Cochrane, 37, is promoting the group's 30 Hour Famine, which asks people to fast for 30 hours on Feb. 22 and 23 to raise money for food and basic relief for the hungry. Said the singer: "I did the fast myself last year while I was on the road performing. It doesn't even give you a vague idea of what these people go through. But it's a symbolic gesture and generates a lot of commiseration." 30 Hour Famine supporters say that they hope to raise \$3 million to help feed people who, according to Cochrane, "don't know about politics and just want to get on with their lives." It's tragic, to see that a lot of these human problems are still worldwide. The still trying to cause to cause with some of the solutions I felt there on that first fast. It will affect my songs in the future."

Cochrane: "It's a symbolic gesture"

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TAX OUTLAW, COUNTRY HERO

Although the U.S. government's Internal Revenue Service has been questioning Willie Nelson's many homes and properties to help offset the \$18 million he owes in back taxes, the singer remains in good humor. This week, he began touring a country music show on a new American satellite tv channel, and he is recording an album that he has nicknamed "the old tapes." Said Nelson, 57: "They're just putting me to work, really. I've just been sitting around, getting lazy, and all this has just kind of got me up and moving again."



No funk: "I've just been sitting around, getting lazy"



Devising, not feeling for leading men

A VERY LUCKY STAR

American actress Annette Bening says that she has mixed feelings about her newfound movie stardom, but to many women she appears to have the best of everything. Bening, 33, who plays a sexy confidence artist in the new movie *The Grifters*, will also come in two films later this year with two of Hollywood's most popular leading men, Robert De Niro and Harrison Ford. And now she is working with legendary screenwriter William Berrigan on *Bugsy*, to be completed late this year. But said Bening: "It's not like that. You don't always fall in love with your leading men."

Confessions of a peer

Members of the British aristocracy usually guard their wealth closely. But last week, Viscount Charles Athorp, the brother of Wales, Prince of Wales, made his public. What he discovered that a tabloid placed to reveal his extravagant after in 1990 with journalist Sally Ann Lawson. He decided to tell his story first. The *London Daily Mail* reported that Athorp, 26, who has since associated with his wife, model Victoria Lockwood, said that he is sorry to have caused her "more grief than I would wish her to have as a lifetime with me."

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Betting on success

With Casino, Blue Rodeo is riding high

Jim Cuddy and Greg Keeler seemed acerbically calm as they looked back over the tumultuous events of 1990. Last year, their Toronto-based band, Blue Rodeo, appeared in a Hollywood movie, recorded a new album, switched the record company they had worked with for three years, got out of business and gained a few, highly-powered managers. But during an interview, they remained almost apologetic, appearing in the movie *Postcards from the Edge* alongside Meryl Streep, without a trace of starry-eyed excitement. And they recalled the demise of their Toronto record label, Royal Dugout, with some of the usual midlife drama. Indeed, even when discussing Blue Rodeo's latest album, *Casino*, a spaced-out and unimpeachable record that seems destined to finally propel the band to international fame, Cuddy, 35, and Keeler, 36, were confident but low-key. The two musicians displayed no talk of success. "It's hard to make a lot more money because we ran ourselves out of selling out," Keeler said with a grin. Added Cuddy, pointing to their faded blue jeans and uncombed hair: "Actually, we're still sweating out."

But Blue Rodeo's stock is definitely rising. The group has climbed from the winch age of Royal Dugout to strange with a contract deal, taken their discography to Warner Music Canada Blue Rodeo's two previous albums, *Outskirts* (1987) and *Diamond Mine* (1989), both of which Warner distributed, were platinum records with Goldmine selling 200,000 copies in Canada and *Diamond Mine* 150,000. *Casino*, which has already gone platinum with sales of more than 100,000 in Canada, promises to be even better. "It is slowly gaining surprise on radio stations ranging from rock to easy listening, a nice fact that proves that the band can bridge a variety of styles with a country-tinged pop sound," *Urbane Toronto's* Corby Jackson another internationally acclaimed country record group. Cuddy and Keeler's country leanings are in evidence via such acoustic blues.

Last last month at Blue Rodeo's concert at

three-month Canadian tour. Atlantic Records in New York City released *Casino* as the United States. Produced by Los Angeles-based Peter Anderson, best known for his work with U.S. country star Duane York, the album is an engagingly eclectic, radio-friendly recording that should finally provide the band with a U.S. breakthrough. Said J.D. Casadeau, the rock critic for New York's *Musician* magazine:



Donovan (left), Wineman, Cuddy, Keeler, French's rich harmonies

and other publications. "It's amazing where the songs jump right out at you."

Casino is a mature, focused effort that shows that Cuddy and Keeler are capable of writing a whole album of catchy, intelligent pop songs. Where *Diamond Mine*, their second record, offered a few gems in a backdrop of rougher songs, the new release is a more polished collection. Its rewards include an abundance of rich harmonies, sparkling guitar work from Cuddy and Keeler, and a tighter, supporting role from keyboardist Bobby Wineman, 29, former Blue Rodeo's, 36, and drummer Mike Pritchard, 32. And the songs, including the strong "TV 7 Am Myself Again and the retrospective 5 a.m. (In Love Again) are personal tales of love, loss and vulnerability

Decreasing their approach to making music last spring, Cuddy and Keeler explained that the band members had a very clear idea of the kind of album that they wanted right from the start. Keeler said that while their last album was a collection of songs from over the years, this one was written, rehearsed and recorded in just four months. Added Keeler: "That's why there's a cohesiveness, with sounds that are sort of the same throughout each song."

Recording the album with Anderson took Blue Rodeo back to Los Angeles, where the band members had travelled in September, 1989 to shoot *Postcards*. They appear looking up Streep as she sings the movie's closing number. The producers had been considering several bands. But Streep was already familiar with Blue Rodeo because her stylist had played its music for her while driving her to a movie set in New England. And her fondness for the group led directly to their eventual appearance in the movie. According to Cuddy and Keeler, Streep turned out to be charming and unaffected, sharing meals with the band members and singing songs with them during shooting breaks.

While Hollywood was an interesting diversion—full of "James Dean and Marilyn Monroe transplants picked up on science," according to Keeler—the musicians say that they were relieved to return home. But then, after they finished work on *Casino*, they learned that their manager, John Cassa, had developed a serious heart condition that forced him to leave the music business. Meanwhile, Royal Dugout, which Cassa owned, encountered financial difficulties and had to suspend operations.

But Blue Rodeo has bounced back and is now poised to crack the tough American market, where it has done well initially but not commercially. To that end, the group has hired Los Angeles-based manager Gary Goldberg, who handles the careers of U.S. blues-rockers Bonnie Raitt and Canada's pop singer Alanis Morissette, among others. But neither Cuddy nor Keeler is willing to push the band into the world of pop glamor. Although their exposure in Canada means that they are now regularly recognized on the street, Cuddy said that it tends to be fans of their music rather than their band: "We definitely bring out the normal in people," he added. Keeler, meanwhile, said that he hopes Canadians will enough to enable the group to "have another kick at the can."

With Blue Rodeo's fortunes rising steadily, some modest expectations are certainly within reach.

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Rushdie: his latest book is a joyous and playful literary invention

BOOKS

After Satanic Verses

Salman Rushdie extols the imagination

HARON AND THE SEA OF STORIES

By Salman Rushdie
(Penguin, 238 pages, \$29.95)

Late last year, British author Salman Rushdie announced that he had embraced Islam. Some commentators interpreted his conversion as an attempt to placate the Muslim religious leaders of Iran who had responded to his allegedly blasphemous 1988 novel, *The Satanic Verses*, by calling for Rushdie's death. Since February, 1989, Rushdie has been in bed. But any weakening of his resolve to defy the fatwas is only part of the picture. In *Haron and the Sea of Stories*—his first publication since the ordeal began—Rushdie reveals in detail as ever a deflection of writers' freedom.

Obviously a children's book, *Haron* will also appeal to adults whose imaginations are still in walking order. Its hero, a boy called Haron, lives in the fictional Middle Eastern country of Albay, where his father, Rashid, is a celebrated storyteller. One day, Haron's mother, Soraya, runs off with Mr. Sengupta, a dull clerk who disapproves Rashid's art by rhetorically asking her, "What's the use of stories that aren't even true?"

His crucial question has been one of the rallying cries of Philipines for centuries: those without an imagination have rarely been able to grasp the point of having one. But Haron (who overcomes Sengupta) is too young to think of an allegorical response. Better, at his mother's behest, he reports Sengupta's marvellous remark to his father: with unhappy results. Rushdie loses his ability to tell stories. Feeling responsible, Haron sets out to win back his

father's gift. His adventure leads him to a man called Kahani, the source of the magic writers applying all great storytellers with their imaginations.

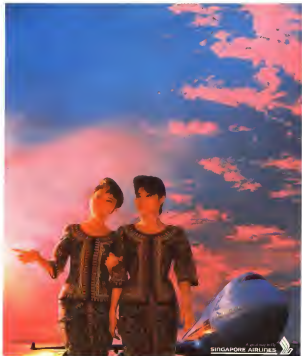
Rushdie's account of Haron's quest is an unusually joyous and playful piece of literary invention. The author has populated Kahani with some delightful creatures. If the White Gnat (But the Mosquito is talking bird that is actually a machine) and Mah the Floating Garden (a talking plant responsible for unending stories). These characters are citizens of the city of Gup, which, as Haron soon learns, entering a terrible war with the enemy city of Chap. Chap's leader, Khattun-Shad (known also as the Prince of Silence and the Fox of Speech), is piloting Kahani's coats of stories with poisonous anti-stories. As the Floating Garden tells Haron, "Certain popular customs have become just long lists of shopping expeditions."

Khattun-Shad represents the tyrannical forces of ignorance and literal-mindedness that threaten human freedom. But although he embodies dogmatism and ignorance, he is far from stupid. Knowing that art—and particularly the storyteller's art—creates the conditions for freedom by stimulating people's thoughts and feelings, Khattun-Shad has set out to defeat it.

Haron's central triumph over the despot may be more complete than is possible in ordinary life. But in granting his hero such a satisfying victory, Rushdie has traced a better path by suppressing the truth of others.

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Hopkins, Foster; Roberts (below): a killer and a wife-beater who personally evil

FILMS

The evil that men do

Terror stalks two female characters

Jodie Foster became a star at the age of 13 by playing a gum-chewing prostitute who befriends a psychiatrist in the 1976 classic *Ten Days in June*. Julia Roberts became a star at the age of 22 by playing a gum-chewing prostitute who falls in love with a tycoon in the 1990 hit *Pretty Woman*. But the two actors are a study in contrasts. Foster, with sharp, fox-like features, projects the toughened intelligence of a survivor. Roberts, video-coached and wide-eyed, is a picture of Barbra Streisand. Now, they are both starring in new thrillers based on novels about women tormented by heinous men. *The Silence of the Lambs* is a clever, crisp and extremely compelling drama in which Foster plays an FBI agent tracking a serial killer. Staying with the theme, meanwhile, is a laughably true melodrama in which Roberts plays a rape victim in *The Arsonist* (1996). In *The Silence of the Lambs*, she plays Clarice, an ambitious FBI recruit chosen to help track down a serial killer known as "Buffalo Bill" (Ted Levine). Clarice's mentor, special agent Jack Crawford (Scott Glenn), assigns her to interview an imprisoned sociopath named Dr. Hannibal Lecter (Anthony Hopkins), a psychiatrist who may hold the secret to the serial killer's psychology—and his identity.

ring Melina Griffith as a kinky seductress who waylays a clean-cut businessman, and *Murder in the Mind* (1996), a Mike Parry fantasy featuring Michael Pfeiffer as a gangster's wife. In *The Silence of the Lambs*, Foster trains his discerning eye on each darker material. The movie is the kind of movie that nightmares are made of. A Hollywood veteran at 28, Foster again shows the emotional depth that was her best asset. Oscar for her performance as a rape victim in *The Arsonist* (1996). In *The Silence of the Lambs*, she plays Clarice, an ambitious FBI recruit chosen to help track down a serial killer known as "Buffalo Bill" (Ted Levine). Clarice's mentor, special agent Jack Crawford (Scott Glenn), assigns her to interview an imprisoned sociopath named Dr. Hannibal Lecter (Anthony Hopkins), a psychiatrist who may hold the secret to the serial killer's psychology—and his identity.



Lecter is "a monster, a pure psychopath," explains Dr. Charles Anthony Hudak, the attorney captain director who helps in the seductive play of his prison inmate. "It's so rare to capture one alive."

Buffalo Bill and Dr. Lecter are an ordinary criminal. Buffalo Bill is a former FBI agent, a former, planning these and leaving the bones of his victims in their mouths. Lecter made his name by using the flesh of his victims' skin. All of that may sound a little hard to swallow, but powerful performances proved to Donohue that director make the material greatly credible.

At the heart of the film is the public relationship between Clarice and Lecter. In a brilliant performance, British actor Anthony Hopkins portrays the twisted psychopath with sparkling calm—as a deceptively civilized predator possessed of diabolical intelligence and a chilling sense of humor. Lecter consents to help Clarice only if she reveals something of herself to him—personal secrets. The conversation takes place through the heavy glass of his high-security cell, but that barrier cannot protect her from his mind. Because of its horrifying subject matter, *The Silence of the Lambs* is highly controversial. But the movie's graphic images of brutality never seem gratuitous or exploitative. To Donohue's credit, he avoids directly portraying acts of violence against women. Instead, he shows glimpses of the gruesome events, clinically and without sensationalism. What is truly horrifying, what haunts the audience long after the film is over, is psychological, not physical—the chilling way that Lecter talks, the cold, ice-cold end of his personality.

The Silence of the Lambs fosters a disturbing sense of complexity. It is a movie with two villains, who represent quite different incarnations of evil. Buffalo Bill, a grotesque monster, has absolutely no redeeming virtues. But Lecter is a strongly sympathetic, a symbol of mankind's evil. And because he holds the secret to finding Bill, he convinces himself into Clarice's hands. There is a woman's reaction pattern to his choice of victims who tend to be journalists and authority figures—

"The crown takes more time to test me," he recalls. "I sit on the line with some live bees and a live chicken."

Lecter's consummate wit and style become

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FILMS

synchronous with the director's. Deane delivers moments of unbearable tension with wicked glibness. But on the whole, he plays it surprisingly straight. Unlike American director David Lynch—who has explored surreal violence in TV's *Twin Peaks* and in last year's movie *Wild at Heart*—Deane means the impulse to be needlessly campy about war-

Although *The Silence of the Lambs* is of dubious moral value—it is not offensive. And as a pure thriller, it ranks with the Classics. Because it dares the cinema with explicit control. Despite jarring lapses in the narrative as it shifts focus from one villain to the other, the suspense never lets up. With convicts open and a clipped Virginia twang, Foster generates a palpable sense of fear, a tension that builds to a terrifying climax, complete with an agonous twist and a black-humored epilogue.

In *Stages with the Enemy*, Roberts is not so fortunate. Her thriller, *Mr. Foster's*, was with the best intentions trapped in a house with a man who is trying to kill her. But the satirical novel that it portrays ends in a cliché: It has a stupid twist, a hapless heroine and a hapless suspect. Roberts plays Laura, a devoted housewife who is seduced by a man who is a success story in the United States and in a bleak Case of Coolbrookshire. They appear to have the ideal life. As it turns out, however, he subjects her to violent abuse at the slightest provocation. Most readers on having the towns on the farmland lived up perfectly. The case in the kitchen cupboard must be immaculately stitched. His needs must be arranged precisely as he wants them to the plot. When Laura signs up, he brutally beats her. And he has told her that if she ever moves him, he will track her down and kill her.

Laura escapes by faking her own death. She changes her name and moves to a sweet little town in Iowa, close to the turning home where her mother lived. She aspires to have covered all the angles—Martin is under the impression that her mother died several years earlier. Tentatively, Laura creates a new life for herself. She strikes up a romance with the mail next door, a sensitive drama teacher (Klaus Adenauer), and their courtship unfolds as a parade of sally snort moments.

Of course, the real Martin doesn't go to spend his free time. And director Joseph Ruben agrees his lasting prominence with all the familiar contrivances. In the predictable climax, the sound-track cues are false clues after another. The cynicism behind *Berlin's* direction is all too transparent. *Berlin's* anti-behavior is the villain in more bad movies than any actor. Although *Berlin's* delivers a solid emotionally sincere performance, she is trapped in a no-win situation. Strolling with the Kowals is not just an unsavory hitchhike—it trivializes the more of wife-hunting. And *Berlin's* evokes sympathy not just for playing the victim of an unfairly bad boyfriend, but for becoming the victim of an unfeeling bad movie.

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THE WELL-INFORMED CHOICE

His father's son

Philip Roth pays tribute to his mentor

PICTUREBOOK

By Philip Roth
(Simon and Schuster, 238 pages, \$27.95)

Until he was killed by a debilitating disease at 66, Herman Roth was a vigorous, blunt former insurance company manager full of very charm and amusing stories. In *Patrimony*, American author Philip Roth has written an unabashed tribute to his father, who died of a brain tumor in 1966 at age 67. While Roth's memoir is a kind of deathwatch, documenting the last year of his father's life, it is also a chronicle of his own agonizing search of expending his direct, intensely engaging and unapologetically funny, it is everything the author's previous book, *Deathless*—a loving novel about adultery and postcolonial intimacy—was not.

The humor in *Patrimony* does not slack, as it does in the author's not-quite-happy novel of sexual neuroses, *Partridge* (1993). *Patrimony* is gentle, accepting—and charitable. At one point, Roth describes an evening of chamber music for the retired Jewish men and women of his father's Florida condominium. A quartet of elderly musicians played a demanding Haydn piece, and Roth writes that their performance "was so stirring as it was tedious, as though these four aging people were trying to push free a car that was stuck in the mud."

The author, meanwhile, grew impatient: "Directly in front of me," the author says, "a neatly dressed old woman was discreetly writing out cheques. . . . It was better than seeing her hills upstairs alone." Throughout the book, Roth introduces figures who were central to his father's life. They include his second wife, Lil, whom he married after his wife Bessie—Roth's mother—died in 1951, and who stoically bore the brunt of his voracious criticism. There is also Herman's best friend, Bill Weber, who showed up to hear *Fast World* for money and then played alongside his teacher. One of the laziest passages describes a dinner party where Roth was asked to read and comment on a novel written by a fellow dinner guest, a Holocaust survivor. He lovingly had praise, the man's cynicism and cynicism depicted his sexual escapades with women who rejected him during the war.

The ghosts of death, sex, racism and,

particularly, Roth's mother also make their presence felt. The author describes Bessie Roth as "the repository of our family past, the business of our childhood and growing up." When Roth learned of his father's brain tumor from the doctor, he drove to Elizabeth, N.J., to tell him. He took a wrong turn, however, and



Roth's the agency of loss, a legacy of courage

ended up instead at a cemetery. Although he had not been consciously searching for it, Roth writes, "I had literally travelled the straightest possible route—down my Malabar hotel to my mother's grave and the grave site beside hers where he was to be buried." The episode is a striking example of the darkness that Roth feels for his family, both the living and the dead.

The most explicable passage in *Patrimony* is Herman Roth himself who, according to the author, seemed the new least the dangers of operating on his cancer with a "woolly-voiced, heartbroken smile that said, 'But of course.'"

At the same time, he was defiant, with an mixture of irony and certainty with no desire to suffer his family's presence of time who failed to succumb to (Roth's) Reagan, he said, learned only to "sleep and eat" in his eight years as president. But Herman served his

greatest secret for mortality itself, winning revenge on it through memory, as if by recollecting in person that the almost and long-gone buildings of Newark, N.J., his home town, he could extend his life indefinitely. Roth writes: "Son mustn't forget anything. . . . To be alive, to him, is to be made of memory."

Patrimony is an act of memory—and of appreciation for a man whose life was lived with hard work, financial stability and, above all, feeling. Reading the night the author was born, Herman said: "There is the morning. The main staircase of the hospital. He was in his white gown. I said to him, 'What is it, Dr. Phyllis or Philip?' And he said, 'It's Philip, Herman. Another boy.'"

In quoting such passages of eloquent simplicity, the son pays tribute to his father's influence on him as a writer. But Herman's battle advocates that the father's courage—and sense of duty—enriched the son's life as well. Recounting his own brush with mortality (an emergency quadruple bypass in the midst of his father's ordeal), Roth says that at first he avoided telling his father to spare him the worry later, his month's paralysis by the tumor. Herman managed to tell the author in a kind of belated way: "I should have been there."

Throughout the memoir, Roth makes clear that his true patrimony was his good fortune in having a remarkable father (a teacher). The book, the latest in a career full of searching intelligent works, is further evidence that the son has not squandered that inheritance.

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(1) *Patrimony* (see above)

Compiled by Brian Belliveau

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The word they dare not speak

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

War is supposed to be hell. It is not meant to be a surreal spectacle for couch potatoes. War does not come in headless versions, or as stereo relief victims at the top of the hour. War sits there in the corner of the living room, courtesy of satellite and DTS, available by the hour if you want it, or a little something every 15 minutes or so, like looking in on a football game periodically just to check the score.

War, put to silence it of the hell, is dealt with as non-English. Ponder directors never talk about people "dying." They always just "pass away." Generals who have turned into dead-up-over-flow with long wooden podiums have a bizarre vocabulary, delivered with a straight face. "Collateral damage" does not refer to blasted humans. It's a way of not saying that civilians are killed.

This was meant to be the first war solution that is fought only among soldiers, where only soldiers are killed and only buildings are destroyed. These buildings, naturally, contain no people. A strange country, Iraq, filled with buildings with no people in them. All the people must be out in the desert, then. Absorbing "collateral damage" to death—their cars float because they're standing too close to those buildings that are all empty.

The multipurpose, outdoing anything Orwell imagined, does not even refer to dead soldiers, the body-bag syndromes of Vietnam being so greatly feared. Instead, in the mouths of parents-turned-commentators, they are K-I-A. The generals who love the spotlight before the cameras do not say "killed in action." K-I-A, along with coming tragically off the top of a disconnected, neutral air to things. They are not dead soldiers, they are acronyms of the alphabet and therefore not something we have to deal with.

Gwyneth Dyer, the showed commentator from Newfoundland who seems to own only one leather jacket, puts down the reason why the words "dead" and "killed" are so tragically avoided by the occasional general. "It is a pretty harder and braver," he writes, "to have a war without censoring public opinion. People

ask how things are coming along with the "degradation"—a favorite with the generals—of Iraqi forces. Happily, they sprinkle their questions with "K-I-A's" and "E-P-A's"—easy pronouns of war. To get it out of our head, put it out of the language. It's less troubling that way.

Poison gas is the dreaded threat, inspiring up images of First World War soldiers in trenches armed only with rifles topped with bayonets. Suddenly, we accept poison fired from miles away and B-52s carpet bombing for four weeks a country containing only 17 million people. They are simple death machines but gas is more human and so is somehow more humane.

The best is yet to come, "warn out of the ground-curved communications talking of instant bombardsments on Iraq. What he means, naturally, is the word is yet to come. But these things happen when military speak has the language upside-down, which is what results when men who are trained for war are allowed to command the words also.

The victor in the battle for truth is military speak. The last time truth escaped was in Vietnam and the ex-fighters are determined that such an accident will not be allowed again. The rehearsals were conducted at Granada and Panama, successful operations in which only the government interpretation of the facts—facts being elusive and slippery little trouble-makers if allowed to escape from the battle.

In the first television war, live in your living rooms, generals with podiums are wrapping up million-dollar bean contracts with their tightly performed, sharp-eyed, mouse-jawed agents are already coming

about for the ideal football coach to play Sherman Normen on the wide screen with Gaby Pascal George Bush is outdoing Colin Powell as his vice presidential running mate in 1995.

It is indeed desired, despite our everything from the ratings. The truth and the language, lie whispering in the corner. Wars need to be actively promote things, fought on distant battlefields by soldiers who feed the public across in ocean crossing distant news only after a decent time.

Today there are no oceans, there is only cars, and the public, both fascinated and bored, cannot decide what to make of it. The military, remembering Vietnam and dedicated not to repeat its loss in the propaganda war, has held a jump start as manipulated this time, well prepared to put the horrors on television.

It is to be hoped that when the general's careless come out with their best efforts, they will revert to the English language.



are simply very reluctant to believe that there are good reasons for killing other people."

So the word "kill" is the new four-letter word. Civilians have mysteriously disappeared from the language. Bombs are not bombs. They are "collateral." Causing very little collateral damage, of course.

It is entirely appropriate in the military jargon, that the references in the headlines are to "the Kuwaiti desert." It is theatre. Sherman Normen Schwarzkopf, smiling every day in his new role as a media star, has been indulged in the video with his glowing aerial photos of "the Saddam army in Iraq"—a truck driver who had just escaped obliteration. The strident pass laughs at the jolly Buster Keaton-like manner before them. Death is holy! As violence taught us, always leave their language.

Reporters, skimming the theory of personal use considered by the microphone and adopt military speak themselves. A female reporter



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